



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**NORTH CAROLINA**

**PART 5 OF 15**

**BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706**

BUFILE 105-165706

Section 4 continued

No of entry No.	SIGNATURE OF REGISTERED VOTER	ADDRESS Street and No.	Date of Signing 1968	Precinct Number
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STATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
COUNTY OF ALAMEDA, CITY OF BERKELEY

....., being first duly sworn, on his oath states: I am, and during all the time while soliciting signatures as hereinafter set forth was, a qualified and registered elector of the above named County and City and of the State of California; I am the person who circulated the attached and foregoing section of the initiative petition of which said section is a part and who solicited the signatures to the said section; I have circulated said section in the County of Alameda, City of Berkeley, State of California; all of the signatures to the attached section were made in my presence and upon the date shown after each signature and were solicited by me within the above named County and City of Berkeley, State of California; and to the best of my knowledge and belief each signature to said section is the genuine signature of the person whose name it purports to be, and each such person to the best of my knowledge and belief is a qualified elector of such County and City, and that all signatures to said section were secured by me.

Signed.....  
Address.....  
Berkeley, California  
(Residential Voting Address)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this ..... day of ..... 1968.

CO<sup>N</sup>CLIDE  
Notary public or other officer authorized to administer oath under the laws of the State of California

Use of County Clerk	SIGNATURE OF REGISTERED VOTER	ADDRESS Street and Number	Date of Eligible 1968	Precinct Number
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8. Recall of Commissioners: Commissioners may be recalled by a petition bearing the signatures of 20% of the number of people voting in the precinct comprising the neighborhood to which the Commission is responsible.

9. Annexation: Whenever 30% of the adult residents of a precinct within one Department District, which is contiguous to another Department District, petition for annexation into said other Department District, an election shall be had within 30 days of certification of the requisite number of signatures by the City Clerk. Such precinct shall be annexed if the majority of the people voting in such election so indicates, unless a majority of the Councilmen of said other Department District reject such annexation within 30 days of said election. A notice of intention shall be given not more than 60 days prior to filing for certification of the petition. Where such annexation has taken place, appropriate adjustments shall be made between the affected Departments in regard to funding, whenever practicable.

10. Disposition of Current Assets: All funds, files, records, property, supplies, and other assets currently possessed by the Berkeley Police Department shall be divided among the Police Departments herein created in proportion to the population of each Police Department District; provided that police files and other records shall be distributed so that each aforesaid Department shall obtain all records pertaining to citizens living within its geographic confines, or to organizations operating therein.

11. Residence: All Police officers shall reside in the area covered by the Department they work for.

12. Ordinances: Any ordinance heretofore enacted, prior to the effective date of the within amendment, which is contradictory to any of the provisions hereof, is repealed.

13. Department Districts Defined: Three separate police departments shall be established. Each shall have exclusive jurisdiction over the following defined areas:

A. Police Department 1: Starting at the intersection of the western boundary of Berkeley and the projected center line of Gilman Street, along the projected center line of Gilman Street into Gilman Street, along Gilman Street to San Pablo Avenue, along San Pablo Avenue to University Avenue, along University Avenue to Grove Street, along Grove Street to Dwight Way, along Dwight Way to Shattuck Avenue, along Shattuck Avenue to the Oakland-Berkeley boundary, along the Oakland-Berkeley boundary west into the Berkeley-Emeryville boundary, along the Berkeley-Emeryville boundary to the intersection of the western Berkeley boundary and projected center line to Gilman Street.

B. Police Department 2: Starting at the intersection of Virginia Street and Grove Street, along Grove Street to Dwight Way, along Dwight Way to Shattuck Avenue, along Shattuck Avenue to the Oakland-Berkeley boundary, along the Oakland-Berkeley boundary to College Avenue, along College Avenue to Ashby Avenue, along Ashby Avenue to Piedmont Avenue, along Piedmont Avenue to the border of the University of California campus, along the border of UC campus east to the Berkeley-Oakland boundary, along the Berkeley-Oakland boundary north to the border of UC campus, along the border of UC campus west to Virginia Street, along Virginia Street to Grove Street.

C. Police Department 3: 1. Starting at the intersection of the western boundary of Berkeley and the projected center line of Gilman Street, north along the western Berkeley boundary into the Albany-Berkeley boundary, along the Albany-Berkeley boundary into the Berkeley-Kensington boundary, along the Berkeley-Kensington boundary into the eastern boundary of Berkeley, along the eastern boundary of Berkeley to the UC campus border, west along the UC campus border to Virginia Street, along Virginia Street to Grove Street, south along Grove Street to University Avenue, west along University Avenue to San Pablo Avenue, north along San Pablo Avenue to Gilman Street, west along the projected center line of Gilman Street to the western boundary of Berkeley. 2. Starting at the intersection of College Avenue and Ashby Avenue, along Ashby Avenue to Piedmont Avenue, along Piedmont Avenue to the UC campus border, along the UC campus border east to the Berkeley-Oakland boundary, along the Berkeley-Oakland boundary to College Avenue, along College Avenue to Ashby Avenue.

14. Neighborhood Divisions Defined: Police Department 1: The dividing line between Neighborhood Division A and Neighborhood Division B shall be Dwight Way and its projected center line. Neighborhood Division A shall be north of said line; Neighborhood Division B shall be south of said line. Police Department 2 shall have only one Neighborhood Division. Police Department 3: The dividing line between Neighborhood Division A and Neighborhood Division B shall be as follows: starting at the intersection of Albina Avenue and the Berkeley-Albany boundary, along Albina Avenue to Hopkins Street, along Hopkins Street to the Alameda, along the Alameda into Grove Street, along Grove Street to Rose Street, along Rose Street to Shattuck Avenue, along Shattuck Avenue to Virginia Street. Neighborhood Division A shall be the area northeast of said dividing line, including area 2 of Department 3. Neighborhood Division B is south and west of said line.

Petition for Submission to Electors of Proposed Amendment to the City Charter of Berkeley

To the City Council of the City of Berkeley:

We, the undersigned, registered and qualified electors of the State of California, residents of the City of Berkeley, pursuant to Section 8 of Article XI of the Constitution of this State, present to the City Council of the City this petition and request that the following proposed amendment to the charter of the City be submitted to the registered and qualified electors of the City for their adoption or rejection at an election on a date to be determined by the City Council.

The proposed charter amendment reads as follows:

Section 1, in section 49: Repeal subsections 5 and 6 and substitute for section 5 the following language:

To organize and maintain fire departments, erect the necessary buildings and own all implements and apparatus required therefor, and to provide funds for three police departments. All control exercised by the City Council, the Mayor, and the City Manager over the composition, powers, duties, responsibilities, and functions of the Police is hereby terminated, except as may be hereinafter provided.

Section 2, in section 20: Delete "The Chief of Police" and substitute "A Police Commissioner".

Section 3, in section 30: Delete "Chief of Police" and substitute "Five Police Commissioners".

Section 4: Add a new article xvii:

1. For the purpose of providing police services to the people of the City of Berkeley, there are established three police departments, one for each of the three Districts into which the City is divided as hereinafter set forth and described.

Police Departments: Each Department of Police shall be administered by a Commission (or Commissioner) as hereinafter set forth. Each Commissioner shall be selected by a Division Council as hereinafter provided. The Commissioners shall fix the policies of the police within the Department, shall punish police officers for violations of said policies and for violation of the law, shall determine qualifications of members of the police department, and shall fix compensation of all employees of said Department. They may enter into necessary agreements with other police departments and other government agencies and generally conduct the affairs of the police department. Each Commissioner shall bring before the full Commission any matter or proposal which his Council instructs him to place before the Commission, and shall vote as his Council instructs him. The Police Commission shall hold regular public meetings at a time when the residents of the Department District are most able to attend. The Police Commissioners shall serve on a fulltime basis and shall be compensated therefor. Compensation shall be set by the respective Division Councils. The Departments may enter into agreements with each other for the operation, maintenance and staffing of certain facilities in which there is a common interest, including, but not limited to laboratories, vehicle repair and communications. The Departments may cooperate together in the requisitioning of equipment, including vehicles and weapons. Funds for the Departments shall be appropriated annually for the City of Berkeley by the City Council and shall be disbursed to each Department on the basis of the number of people residing in each Department District on the last preceding election.

2. Neighborhood Divisions: Each Police Department has a Neighborhood Division(s) described below.

3. Police Council: Each Neighborhood Division shall be divided into fifteen Police Council Precincts, by the City Clerk; the population of each such Precinct is not to exceed that of any other Precinct by more than 10% of the population of the entire District divided by fifteen. The registered voters in each Precinct shall elect a Police Councilman who will serve in that capacity for a term of two years, unless recalled. The Councilmen shall serve on a part-time basis and will be compensated for the time spent in the performance of their duties.

4. Qualifications of Councilmen: Any person who has resided in the Precinct for six months next preceding the election and is of voting age at the time of elections is qualified to serve as Councilman. There shall be no other qualifications established for the office.

5. Duties of Council: The Neighborhood Council shall, within ten days of its own election, select a Commissioner. In addition to selection of Commissioners, the Councils shall review the policies of the Police Department and will recommend changes or modifications of such policies when such policies no longer reflect the needs or will of the populace of the Neighborhood represented by the Council. The Councilmen of each Neighborhood shall have the power, exercised by a vote of the majority of that council, to remove and replace their Commissioner when he is no longer responsive to the Council. Each Council shall establish procedures necessary to hear and process complaints made against individual members of the Police Department by persons residing within the district or concerning police practices within the district, and shall have the power to discipline members of the Department for violations of law or policy occurring within that District.

6. Meetings: The Neighborhood Council will meet regularly at a time convenient to the Councilmen and at a time when interested persons may attend. Special meetings may be called when requested in writing by 20% of the Councilmen. In a Department having more than one Council, a Neighborhood Council may, by a majority vote, call a meeting of all the Councilmen of the Department, which shall meet within ten days. Such a meeting may, by majority vote of both Councils, change, institute or modify any Policy of the Department, upon which the Commissioners fail or refuse to act.

7. Recall of Councilmen: The people of a precinct may recall their Councilman by a petition bearing the signatures of residents equalling 20% of the number of people voting within the precinct in the last preceding general election. Upon certification of the requisite number of signatures an election shall be had not later than 30 days thereafter. Notice of intention to recall a Councilman must be given not more than 30 days prior to seeking certification of the requisite number of signatures by the City Clerk.

**CAUTION! DO NOT CIRCULATE THIS PETITION UNTIL YOU HAVE READ CAREFULLY**

**THE INSTRUCTIONS BELOW:**

1. Do not circulate this Petition UNLESS YOU ARE A REGISTERED VOTER IN THE CITY OF BERKELEY.
2. Do not allow a person unknown to you to sign until such person has first answered YES to the question: "Are you a registered voter in Berkeley?"
3. Do not permit any person to circulate this Petition for you. Each signature must be secured by the person making affidavit on the last signature page that all signatures were obtained in his or her presence. After you start to circulate this Petition no one else may take over your job.
4. Do not leave this Petition in an office, plant or home to be signed in your absence. All signatures must be made in your presence.
5. Circulators must not write anything in any column on the signature pages, except that circulator may sign his or her name once in the regular manner as a signer of the Petition.
6. When soliciting signatures have a fountain pen or indelible pencil along for convenience of signers.
7. **EACH SIGNER OF THIS PETITION MUST:**
  - (a) In the first column write his or her name EXACTLY as the signer is registered. A married woman must sign her own given name. For example: Mrs. Mary N. Smith must so sign, and not write Mrs. John J. Smith. Mr. Smith must sign John J. Smith, and not merely J. J. Smith. The Smith's unmarried daughter must sign her full given name, using her title Miss. In short, the Petition must be signed exactly as each person's name appears on the registration rolls.
  - (b) In the second column write street and number of residence. Do not permit dittos. Post Office Boxes are not allowed.
  - (c) In the third column write the day and month of signing. The date can be abbreviated. As an example, January 1 should be written like this. 1/1 or Jan. 1. Do not permit dittos.
  - (d) PUT NOTHING IN THE LAST COLUMN MARKED PRECINCT. Leave that column blank.
  - (e) Do not permit signers to use ditto ("") marks any place. Ditto ("") marks are illegal.
8. This Petition and all its Sections (any printed form identical with what you are now reading is legally termed a "Section") in its entirety of pages and all of them are to be returned to the sponsor (name and address below) so that further provisions of the law applying to Initiative Petitions may be carried out.
9. **IT IS A FELONY FOR ANY PERSON TO WRITE ANY NAME IN THIS PETITION OTHER THAN HIS OR HER OWN.** A husband may not sign for his wife -- nor a wife for a husband -- nor for any other member of the family -- nor for any other person.
10. When you have secured all your signatures, take this Petition to any Notary Public, or to any officer authorized to administer oaths, and execute the Circulator's Affidavit. Under Article IV, Section 1, of the California Constitution, the affidavit of any person soliciting signatures hereunder shall be verified free of charge by any officer authorized to administer oaths. A Notary Public can usually be found conveniently located in your neighborhood in most real estate or lawyers' offices, or at banks.

After the petition is notarized return at once to:

Peace and Freedom Movement  
2214 Grove Street  
Berkeley, California

Black Panther Party  
4421 Grove Street  
Oakland, California

## BERKELEY

## PETITION FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

## SUMMARY OF BERKELEY POLICE CONTROL AMENDMENT

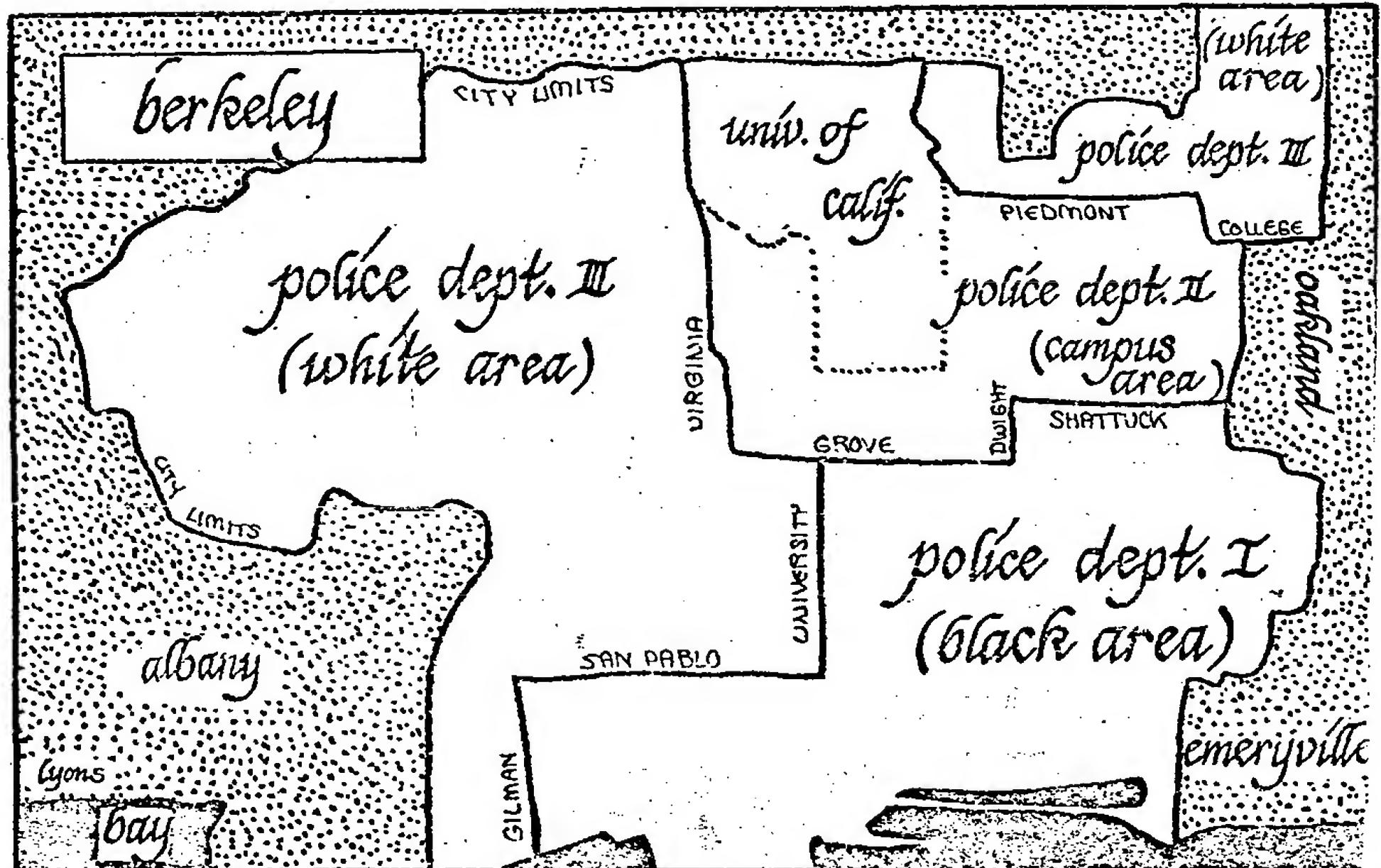
This amendment to the City Charter would give control of the police to community elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set police policy and standards of conduct.

The amendment provides for community control of the police by establishing separate police departments for the three major communities in Berkeley: the Black community, the campus community and the predominantly white area. The departments would be separate and autonomous. They can by mutual agreement use common facilities. Each department will be administered by a full-time police commissioner(s). The commissioners are selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council of fifteen members from that community elected by those who live there.

The Councils shall have the power to discipline officers for breaches of Department policy or violations of law. They may direct their police Commissioner to make changes in Department-wide policy. The Council can recall the Commissioner appointed by it at any time it finds that he is no longer responsive to the community. The community can recall the Council members when they are not responsive to it.

All police officers must live in the Department they work in.

## MAP OF PROPOSED BERKELEY POLICE DEPARTMENTS



In the Communist Manifesto, they refer to the lumpenproletariat as "the 'dangerous class, the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society," and claim that although it "may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of life prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." (Selected Works, I, 44). In The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850, Marx says that the lumpenproletariat "in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," and analyzes it as "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, gens sans feu et sans aveu, varying according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their lazzaroni character." (Selected Works, I, 155). The most savage passage comes in Engels' "Prefatory Note to The Peasant War in Germany":

The lumpenproletariat, this scum of the depraved elements of all classes, which established headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: Mort aux voleurs! Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did it, not out of enthusiasm for property, but because they really considered it necessary above all to keep that gang at a distance. Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or relics on whom for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement. (Selected Works, I, 646).

Yet even this passage, taken with the contexts of the others, presents some apparent contradictions.

First of all, what do Marx and Engels see as the class background of the lumpenproletariat? This is not an idle or academic question. Class background should certainly have something to do with determining consciousness, both actual and potential. And recently it has become fashionable in some quarters to write off the street people as not even lumpenproletariat but "lumpenbourgeoisie," or fake lumpenproletariat. In the previous passage from Engels he claims that they come from "the depraved elements of all classes." But the Manifesto says that they come only from "the lowest layers of old society." And in the very passage in which Marx says that the lumpenproletariat is "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," he also indicates that it comes directly from only one class, that same proletariat. ("And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst... Yet in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, Marx is quite explicit in stating that the lumpenproletariat comes from all classes:

Alongside decayed roués with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, maquereaus (pimps), brothel keepers, porters, literati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars--in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term la bohème; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10. A "benevolent society"--in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself chief of the lumpenproletariat, ... here alone discovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, ... recognizes in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally... (Selected Works, I, 295).

But this is all very confusing, because in the Manifesto the paragraph which immediately follows the sentence condemning the lumpenproletariat describes the pauperization of the proletariat in these terms"

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of the old society are already swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relation. ... Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests. (Selected Works, I, 44)

A few paragraphs later, it states that "the modern laborer ... sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class"; "He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." Well, then, if this is true, what happens to the pauperized proletariat? How do they manage to live? Why is a knife grinder or a tinker or a porter or a beggar or a discharged soldier or even a discharged jailbird a member of some other class, the lumpenproletariat, "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat"? It cannot be just a question of values, because to the true proletarian "law, morality, religion" are just "bourgeois prejudices." And it cannot be a question of personal relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would be a lumpen army.

I would like to draw the following working conclusions: Marx and Engels, perceiving the existence of an important but ill-defined social class and angered by the treacherous role often played by that class, tended to make an ethical judgment rather than a Marxist analysis of its role in capitalist society and revolutionary struggle. This class may be defined as follows: It does not engage in productive labor, and is therefore not exploited in industry. (The bourgeoisie, however, does utilize it as police, army or agents.) Its principal means of support is the labor of the productive class, and its relationship to the proletariat is therefore inherently parasitic. Its members have come from all classes, and they have ceased to be members of those other classes because of a combination of two conditions, one objective, the other subjective--they no longer have the same relationship to the means of production and they no longer have any loyalty to their former class. From this it follows that the lumpenproletariat will contain more varied forms of consciousness than any other class in society, for the previous experience of the individuals within it will be most varied and their present precarious means of existence will throw them into many different forms of contact with all the other classes (the prostitute providing the most striking example of this). So the role of the lumpenproletariat is inherently unpredictable both strategically and at each and every moment.

If this is true, we should be keenly aware of the unreliability of the lumpenproletariat but we must reject Engels' condemnation of them as completely worthless and merely dangerous. Marx provides a key insight in a passage which foreshadows the analysis of Mao and Fanon and relates directly to the development of the Revolutionary Youth Movement. At a "youthful age," he says in The Class Struggles in France, the lumpenproletariat is "thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption." (Selected Works, I, 155.) If so, at least the youth of the lumpenproletariat should be able to play an extremely important role in revolutionary struggle, because they are the only group to combine this potentiality for heroism with an intimate daily knowledge of how to cope with the police and to engage in underground activities as a way of life. And remember that in What Is To Be Done? Lenin makes the mastery of these skills the primary requirement of the professional revolutionary and of the revolutionary party as a whole, primary because these skills are needed to survive.

Lenin himself deals with one aspect of the lumpenproletariat quite relevant at the present moment, their tendency to engage in spontaneous and disorganized armed struggle against the state and "expropriation" of state property. Lenin violently condemns those Bolsheviks who disassociate themselves from this by "roudly and smugly declaring 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this.' ("Guerilla Warfare," Collected Works, XI, 220) He attacks "the usual appraisal" which sees this struggle as merely "anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralise the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganise the movement and injure the revolution." (Works, XI, 216-17) Lenin draws the following keen lesson from the disorganized state of this struggle: it is not these "actions which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions under its control." (p. 219) The Bolsheviks must organize these spontaneous acts and "must train and prepare their organisations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces." (p. 223)

Mao's analysis of the lumpenproletariat and of their possible role in the revolution is very clear and simple:

Apart from all these other classes, there is the fairly large lumpen-proletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. They lead the most precarious existence of all. ... One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance. (Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society)

Although in American society the lumpenproletariat consists of far more diverse groups than landless peasants and unemployed handicraftsmen, Mao's final generalization would seem to be as fitting here as there. Unfortunately for us, however, Mao does not give any detailed theory on working with this particular almost entirely urban class.

Probably the most relevant, and certainly the most extensive, discussion of the lumpenproletariat by a Marxist theorist can be found in Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth. Fanon, writing principally about African colonies, sees the lumpenproletariat as made up almost exclusively of landless peasants (p. 90). This is the part of his analysis least relevant to the U.S., although, of course, all of the Black and part of the white lumpenproletariat has been driven from the land into the cities. Fanon has no illusions about the dangerous unreliability of this class. But he argues that, for three reasons, the revolution cannot succeed without these people: (1) They are the most ready to fight. (2) They therefore provide the way by which the revolutionary forces of the countryside enter the city. (3) If they are not fighting on the side of the revolution, they will be fighting against it. Fanon gives many specific examples of the counter-revolutionary role sometimes played by the lumpenproletariat. In Madagascar, the colonialists assisted in "the creation of a party out of the unorganized elements of the lumpen-proletariat" and then used "its distinctly provocative actions" as "the legal excuse to maintain order." (p. 93) In Angola, Algeria, and the Congo, the colonialists were able to use elements of the lumpenproletariat as soldiers, agents, laborers, and counter-revolutionary demonstrators. Fanon concludes from this not that the lumpenproletariat should be ignored, but quite the contrary: the real danger lies in depending on its spontaneity:

Colonialism will also find in the lumpen-proletariat a considerable space for manoeuvring. For this reason any movement for freedom ought to give its fullest attention to this lumpen-proletariat. The peasant masses will always answer the call to rebellion, but if the rebellion's leaders think it will be able to develop

without taking the masses into consideration, the lumpen-proletariat will throw itself into the battle and will take part in the conflict--but this time on the side of the oppressor. And the oppressor, who never loses a chance of setting the niggers against each other, will be extremely skilful in using that ignorance and incomprehension which are the weaknesses of the lumpen-proletariat. If this available reserve of human effort is not immediately organized by the forces of rebellion, it will find itself fighting as hired soldiers side by side with the colonial troops. (p. 109)

What makes all this particularly dangerous is that it may occur after the lumpen-proletariat has fought on the side of the revolution, and may therefore take the revolutionary forces completely by surprise. Fanon points out that the enemy relies on this analysis to take advantage of any such opportunity:

The enemy is aware of ideological weaknesses, for he analyses the forces of rebellion and studies more and more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes up a colonial people; he is also aware of the spiritual instability of certain layers of the population. The enemy discovers the existence, side by side with the disciplined and well-organised advance guard of rebellion, a mass of men whose participation is constantly at the mercy of their being for too long accustomed to physiological wretchedness, humiliation and irresponsibility. (pp. 109-110)

Surely it is not difficult to imagine a similar situation here, and we should be arned of the necessity of raising the consciousness of all those who join the struggle. The Black Panthers' political education courses, based on intensive study of Mao and stressing an application to people's immediate experience, here serves as a model. (Any of their early recruits, although unaccustomed to reading and used to an irresponsible, criminal life, learned how to serve the people with complete dedication.)

No other parts of Fanon's analysis are of even more immediate and strategic importance. The first is the theory of the lumpenproletariat as the way the countryside enters the city. "The rebellion, which began in the country districts, will filter into the towns through that fraction of the peasant population ... which has not yet succeeded in finding bone to gnaw in the colonial system." "It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpen-proletariat that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead." (p. 103) How does this apply to the U.S.? It is easy enough to see the unemployed people of the Black ghettos as part of this mass of humanity. But where is the rebellion that began in the country districts? The answer, of course, is in the world revolution as described by Lin Piao in Long Live the Victory of People's War! The country districts of the world are Asia, Africa, and Latin America, emelands of the wretched of the earth. There are various groups of people in the United States who share the physical misery of these rural masses--American Indians, Chicano farm laborers, Black tenant farmers in the South, the dispossessed whites of Appalachia. But most of these groups are scattered and weak, living on the fringes of capitalist society, away from its vital centres. There is only one group that not only shares the degradation of the world's revolutionary masses but is sufficiently concentrated to be powerful--the urban lumpenproletariat. This class in American society is largely made up of Third World people, but also includes whites dispossessed from the land or dropped out of their class. This last is no inconceivable group, and it is taken over areas of several important cities, from the Haight-Ashbury and Telegraph Avenue through Madison to the Lower East Side, Cambridge, and Georgetown. Wherever the lumpenproletariat lives in America, "law and order" are rapidly disintegrating. Imperialism, caught in its own contradictions, finds it increasingly difficult to develop effective weapons to use within its own diseased vital organs, its cities. Here stirs the lumpenproletariat, the one class whose physical existence approximates that of the forces of the world.

Ianon points to the symptoms of breakdown in the colonised country, and we see the same symptoms, perhaps more pronounced, in the coloniser; to "juvenile delinquency," "stealing, debauchery and alcoholism," we can add the effects of methedrine and heroin.

The constitution of a lumpen-proletariat is a phenomenon which obeys its own logic, and neither the branding activity of the missionaries nor the decrees of the central government can check its growth. This lumpen-proletariat is like a horde of rats; you may kick them and throw stones at them, but despite your efforts they'll go on gnawing at the roots of the tree.

... The lumpen-proletariat, once it is constituted, brings all its forces to endanger the "security" of the town, and is the sign of the irrevocable decay, the gangrene ever present at the heart of colonial domination. (p. 104)

The other extremely important part of Ianon's analysis has to do with the changing values and life style of the lumpenproletariat in revolutionary struggle. The conditions of life have shaped them to fight, but the fighting itself is a new condition which transforms them into a new kind of people:

So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed and the petty criminals, urged on from behind, throw themselves into the struggle for liberation like stout working men. These classless idlers will be militant and decisive action discover the path that leads to nationhood. They won't become reformed characters to please colonial society fitting in with the morality of its rulers; quite the contrary, they take for granted the impossibility of entering the city save by hand-grenades and revolvers. These workless less-than-men are rehabilitated in their own eyes and in the eyes of history: the prostitutes too, and the mafds ..., all the hopeless dregs of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness, will recover their balance, once more go forward, and march proudly in the great procession of the awakened nation. (104)

There are two extremely important points to bear in mind here, if we are to relate correctly to the lumpenproletariat. The first is that we must not tail after their existing values and life styles, but must lead them to an assertion of their own liberation through revolutionary struggle. The second is that they must be led by conscious revolutionaries with a sense of the historical condition of these people and a awareness of their weaknesses and instability. It would be a mistake, probably a fatal mistake, to think that the only people qualified to lead them are individuals distinguished by being similarly unpredictable and lacking in ideological consciousness.

### Students and Street People

Students now constitute a significant portion of the entire population. The number of college students alone now approximately equals the country's total armed forces plus its three largest unions (Teamsters, UAW, and United Steelworkers), and the number in high school is far larger. From the students has come the bulk of both the most militant and radical political forces and street people, two overlapping groups. Clearly, the radicalization and lumpenproletarianizing of students are not coincidences.

College students, particularly those living away from home, are partially and temporarily freed from, existing in a limbo between their wealthy or working-class past and whatever careers or jobs they are being channeled into. Although physically and psychologically capable of productive labor and childbearing, indeed more energetic and sexually motivated than most "adults" though often among the most intellectually alert and best informed people, they are branded by all classes as immature parasites. They are generally not permitted either to sell their labor or to own property. Although they may work quite hard in school, they do not produce anything, and are therefore not workers. No matter

how socially useful their knowledge and skills may later prove to be, they are still "dependents," a pleasant word for parasites.

Rather than earn a living, students chisel or hustle for one. Even the son of a member of the ruling class knows that he has gotten his sports car by finagling it out of his old man, not through productive labor (like his father's workers) or legalized, respectable plunder (like his father); he relates to his father like a call girl or swindler. Students are denied even bourgeois democratic rights. As neither workers nor owners, living under coercive rules without even the illusion of having chosen the authority over them, students share some of the experience of the more clearly classless elements of society, the true lumpenproletariat. This experience has at least some effect on their consciousness. They know what it is to be considered a parasite and to live like one. Their class loyalties weaken. The sanctity of both work and private property is questioned. Of course they are still largely products of their natal class. But because their class position is now ambiguous, many of them slip out of the class roles for which they supposedly were being trained, and some find it quite easy to become outright class traitors. Some sons and daughters of workers compete for managerial careers, and a few even become lower level bosses over their parents. Some sons and daughters of the wealthiest capitalists become conscious revolutionaries, seeking to overthrow their parents' rule, and a few even succeed in merging with the workers. But the most striking phenomenon is that of the drop-out, who slides directly from an existence with some superficial resemblances to the lumpenproletariat into becoming a bona fide member of that class. And during the present period, the beginning of the final collapse of imperialism, that is becoming a mass phenomenon.

The alienated street people, predominately ex-students whose neighborhood usually adjoins a Black or Brown ghetto, form an ambiguous connection to the dispossessed lumpenproletariat and lower strata of the proletariat. The potential exists for two kinds of conflict, and both have already taken place: in one, whites and Third World people fight against each other; in the other, both fight together against the police. This represents in dramatically clear form the classical ambiguity of and within the lumpenproletariat.

#### The Lumpenproletariat and the Working Class

Although the lumpenproletariat must play a role in revolutionary struggle, as a class it is incapable of being the main force. Its capacity for fighting and destruction may be great, but of all classes within society it is the least capable of seizing and maintaining state power.

One error currently being made within the movement is empiricism, which bases its analysis only on what has already taken place here and now. In any pre-revolutionary or early revolutionary condition, the least stable elements within society are those to go into motion first. This almost always includes students and elements of the lumpenproletariat. Empiricism mistakes this first force for the leading force or vanguard, and concludes that the revolution will be made by precisely those elements in fact least able to carry it through to completion.

In developed capitalist society, there is of course only one class other than the bourgeoisie capable of holding state power; that class is the working class. Anyone who questions this is not a revolutionary, for revolution at this point in history means the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. (One can, however, be a fighting anti-imperialist, totally committed to the destruction of the bourgeois state, without being a revolutionary. But whether the means of destruction are fire or plague,

anarchism ultimately means attacking the working class as well as the state.) But in this obvious historical fact lies the danger of dogmatism, which ignores living reality for historical certainty. The dogmatists, best characterized by the Progressive Labor Party and other varieties of Trotskyites, see the struggles of any group other than the proletariat as inconsequential if not downright counterrevolutionary. PL carries this so far that they assert that students and street people are not part of the people at all. Because they assume that "when Mao or Lenin talked of the people they were referring [only] to workers and peasants," they arrive at the preposterous conclusion that "the fight for People's Park was a reactionary struggle." (The Battle of Berkeley, PL pamphlet pp. 7-9) Unlike PL, Marxists-Leninists understand that theory must be based on objective reality. They conclude, therefore, that the key revolutionary task at the present moment is spreading the intensely political struggle of the alienated and the dispossessed to the working class as a whole, which, mired in economism, can win its own battle only in revolution.

There is nothing automatic or certain about the relation between the present insurrection and the working class. On the contrary, there is an extreme danger that the contradiction between the lumpenproletariat and the working class may become antagonistic (particularly if the workers were to listen to PL). Workers may perceive anarchic rebellion as a threat to the marginal security they have been able to win from the ruling class. Stud. and street people occupy a housing development from which working-class people have been evicted, and then demand that this be a free People's Pad, while workers in the surrounding neighborhood cannot afford the rent they are being forced to pay. That part of the lumpenproletariat that consists of students who have dropped out of petit bourgeois, professional, and bourgeois families has been filled with the most virulent anti-working-class ideas. And the lumpenproletariat is, after all, a parasitic class that lives off the labor of the working class. This all means that the task of first linking and then uniting the struggles of the lumpenproletariat and the working class is not only essential but extremely difficult.

Among Third World people, there is a less clear demarcation between lumpenproletariat and working class than there is between street people and the white working class. Black and Brown workers are the last hired and the first fired, so that a large percentage knows what it is to be among the unemployed. Many Black and Brown women are on welfare or employed in part-time "domestic" (i.e. servile) positions. The Black Panther Party has shown the way to unite lumpenproletariat with working class--by constantly developing practical programs to Serve the People in areas where the oppression of the lumpenproletariat is an extreme form of the oppression suffered by Black working people. Beginning with a base almost entirely within the lumpenproletariat and committed to defending the people against police brutality, the Panthers now have wide support among Black workers, and thanks to the Breakfast for Children program, throughout the Black community. What has been central to this success has been the Panthers' refusal to take the opportunistic course of organizing around lumpenproletariat demands per se, but rather organizing through the lumpenproletariat as the most victimized members of the Black people and therefore as ones capable of raising demands for the people as a whole. Although now and again contradictions have intensified between lumpenproletariat and working class within the Third World communities, it now seems certain that revolutionary leadership, national oppression, and the intensifying crisis of imperialism will combine to forge revolutionary unity.

In the mother country, the problems are far more difficult. Certainly the lesson of the Panthers, Serve the People, is just as crucial here, to say the least. The principal organizing concept here must be the Revolutionary Youth Movement, which is made necessary and possible by cross-class youth culture, the draft and imperialist war, high unemployment among youth, and the pigs.

Within the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the bulk of the work within the next year or two will continue to be building the movement on the campuses and on the streets and linking the two together. But the key job for revolutionaries will be to spread that movement to young white working people.

Here one vital area of work must be draft resistance and resistance within the army, because here the movement among alienated white youth connects directly to the needs of young workers. Another priority is the work among street gangs, who are themselves basically lumpenproletariat although their class backgrounds vary, and motorcycle clubs who are mostly made up of young workers whose life style and off-work associations relate closely to the lumpenproletariat. A third area of crucial importance is the high schools, where the channeling system has not as yet totally forced class separation and where oppression cuts sharply across class lines.

## RESOLUTION

### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AFRO-ASIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT (ANTI-IMPERIALIST) IN QUEBEC FOR PRESENTATION TO "THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM" CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Afro-Asian Youth Movement (Anti-Imperialist)\* is composed of progressive Africans, Asians and their supporters resident in Quebec. We resolutely support and do propaganda for:

1. The just national liberation struggles of our heroic people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
2. The National Liberation Struggle of the Palestinian people led by Fatah, Popular Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine, and the Palestine Liberation Front.
3. The National Liberation Struggle of the people of Quebec.

In these tasks we focus on the common enemy of the toiling masses of the world: U.S. imperialism. Since the Afro-Americans are in the forefront of the developing militant struggle against Imperialism, in the U.S.A., we fraternally welcome the attempt of this conference to unite the people against our common enemy.

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other countries have been the constant target for the plunder, subjugation and exploitation at the hands of the colonial and neo-colonial powers. Reactionary violence is used to extinguish any flame of revolt against foreign robbers and their supporters. With the gun in one hand and the bible in the other, the colonial powers have inflicted untold suffering on our people.

In the last decade the Asian, African, Latin American and the Afro-American people have scored great advances in the militant struggle. One of the reasons for the mighty blows against U.S. imperialism is the revolutionary internationalism, spreading amongst the oppressed peoples of the world. The revolution cannot succeed until the people realize that their fight is a part of the historical and global struggle against imperialist and racist oppression.

- In Vietnam the heroic people's resolute determination in waging people's war has shown the way to defeat the most technologically advanced country in the world.
- In Palestine, the zionist aggressors with the help of the imperialist powers have driven the Palestinians out of their homeland and have further expanded their aggression to other Arab countries and have occupied their territories. The

\* For further information write to:

"The Association", P.O. Box 7361, Station B,  
Montreal H1C, Quebec.

people of Palestine are resisting the aggression and waging a people's war to defeat the Zionist aggressors.

- In Quebec, U.S. imperialism faces the just wrath of the exploited people of Quebec. The Quebec people and Quebec as a nation are under the domination of the Anglo-Canadian colonialists led by the traitor Trudeau. The Quebecois suffers under discrimination and repression in the interests of U.S. imperialism. The sectors of the population most affected are workers, small cultivators, and C.GEP (Cire-Univ. schools) students. The same Canadian bourgeoisie headed by Trudeau exploits the Canadian working class, national minorities and others in the interest of U.S. Imperialism. The Quebecois are waging a militant struggle for national liberation.

As the revolutionary struggles of the peoples intensify, the ruling class desperately attempts to launch counter-revolutionary actions against the movement of the toiling masses. The spectre of peoples liberation drives the counter-revolutionary forces to employ fascist methods of exercising state power. It is precisely in this context that the Black Panther Party, in the fore-front of the Afro-American struggle and in the process of adopting a revolutionary working class ideology and program faces the fascistic tactics of oppression and repression. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to have a scientific analysis of the nature and development of fascism and to develop the strategy and tactics to defeat imperialism and incipient fascism.

#### NATURE OF FASCISM

Historically, fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialist elements of finance-capital.<sup>1</sup>

Specifically,

"The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie - bourgeois democracy- open terrorist dictatorship."<sup>2</sup>

"The accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance-capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in course of mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself - a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes.... all this, however, does not make less important the fact that, before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism.

Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at

<sup>1</sup> All quotations are from "United Front" by Georgi Dimitroff

"At the preparatory stages is not in opposition to  
the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary  
facilitates that victory."

An important task in an incipient fascist state, the present condition in the U.S.A., demands militant propagation of the working class ideology in order to combat the attempts by the state to attract various strata of the population including the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.

"What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. Fascism, not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do (did) the German fascists, those lackeys of the big bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as 'Socialists', and depict their accession to power as a 'revolution'? Because they try (tried) to exploit the faith in revolution and urge toward socialism that lives in the hearts of the masses of working people in Germany."

Therefore, in contemporary U.S.A., it is necessary to wage an ideological struggle against defeatist theories of social democracy, liberalism and new-left opportunism, all of which fundamentally serve the interests of the ruling class and its drive towards full-fledged fascism.

Fascism openly uses the reactionary biological theories of the instinctual basis for human behaviour and social relationship which directly leads to the practice of racism against national minority groups. Mass terror, pogroms, lynchings and mass extermination become the principal methods of exercising state power. In short therefore:

"Fascism is the most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people; Fascism is the unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war; Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution; Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and working people!"

The present development in the nature of the state in contemporary U.S.A. and Quebec, cannot be characterized as a fascist state, despite the fact that the state increasingly utilizes fascist tactics in its efforts to quell the rising tide of people's wrath. These tactics are normal and necessary for the functioning of the bourgeois state.

The principal reasons which clearly show why the U.S.A. and Quebec are not fascist states, are:

- (i) State power continues to be exercised through regular constitutional methods.
- (ii) Not only does the entire ruling class (as opposed to the most reactionary segments) exercise state power, but at present shares this power with the petty bourgeoisie.

(iii) though the power of the South Western monopoly capitalists accompanied by their military allies has been rising since the second world war yet in the exercise of state power the interests and ideology of the Eastern and Central monopoly capitalists remain dominant. In this sense the most reactionary and chauvinist -sections of the ruling class do not exercise complete control over the state machinery, which is necessary condition for the existence of a fascist state.

(iv) While fascist organizations and fascist tactics have existed in the past and have increased in the last decade, yet the principal method of a fascist state, such as mass terror and mass extermination, are not used in contemporary U.S., U.S.S.R. and France.

The foregoing analysis clearly necessitates that the immediate task is of forging unity among the working class against the rising tide of fascism to develop the basis of the United Front and subsequently a popular front which would effectively defend the interest of the people and thoroughly defeat fascism.

The following four factors are the fundamental conditions for the development of the United Front:

"... Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends first and foremost on the militant activity of the working class itself,... By establishing its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over... the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, (cities), the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section of them and win over another section..."

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working people against fascism.

Third, it depends on a correct policy of the working class toward (the rural population), and the petty bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and wavering, it is only by political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on the vigilance and timely action of the revolutionary proletariat. The latter must not allow fascism to take it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, but must inflict decisive blows on it before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must repel fascism wherever and whenever it rears its head, it must not allow fascism to gain new positions.

... But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the toilers of its own countries but also in the oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies. Inasmuch as the proletariat is split both nationally and internationally, inasmuch as one of its parts supports the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression in the

colonies and semi-colonies, a barrier is put between the working class and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the world anti-imperialist front is weakened. Every step on the road to unity of action in the direction of supporting the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples by the proletariat of the imperialist countries means transforming the colonies and the semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat..."

Our analysis leads us to the conclusion that the call given by this conference to build unity amongst the people against fascism incorrectly identifies the existing state in the U.S.A. with full-fledged fascism. Furthermore, the particular call for unity misleads the struggle against fascism by confusing the strategy and tactics of building a united front with that of a popular front. However, if this conference succeeds in fulfilling the immediate task of forging a United Front of the working class through unity in action, it will ensure the systematic and consistent development of unity among the people to thoroughly defeat fascism and imperialism in the U.S.A.

1. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE'S OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA!
2. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE !
3. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC !
4. LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE HEROIC BLACK PANTHER PARTY !
5. SMASH U.S. IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM !
6. VICTORY TO THE TOILING CLASSES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA !

WHAT IS FASCISM?

Fascism is the systematic use of force and violence by the most powerful section of the ruling capitalist class to eliminate opposition to its rule, to rob or destroy the property of other sections of the capitalist class and the middle class, and to kill-off, in the name of "efficiency" and "order," all others who are not either profit-producing workers, child- and soldier-producing females, conquest-producing members of the armed forces, or dictatorship-producing members of the capitalists' political and police forces.

Fascism is the kind of government capitalism, in its old age, must have to suppress the people, whose interests capitalism increasingly and unavoidably violates.

Fascism is not an aberration or a temporary political condition of capitalism, to be corrected by the "restoration of democracy" within capitalism. It is a basic political condition. The basic trend toward fascism has not been reversed since Mussolini marched on Rome. Only the forms of this trend have varied. Rule by police and private armies has been supplemented by military mobilization, conquest and occupation, or by military coups and dictatorships. World War II did not decrease or defeat fascism; it decided which national capitalist classes should have what positions within international, imperialist fascism. \*(see page 5)

THE ONLY DEFENSE OF FASCISM IS REVOLUTION

Only the extension of the socialist revolution (communist revolution or proletarian revolution) into Eastern Europe and its spread in China and into Korea during World War II were defeats of imperialist fascism. Only the further extension of the socialist revolution in Vietnam, Africa and Cuba since World War II have been decisive defeats of imperialist fascism.

The resistance of the peoples of imperialist nations to fascist policies at the practical level -- wages, living and working standards, service in imperialist armed forces, etc. -- has been an important factor in preventing or lessening imperialist fascist victories over the socialist revolution. This resistance commonly has rationalized itself politically as a defense of "democratic rights" at home and the right of self-determination of other nations abroad. Thus the victories of the socialist revolution have been inseparable from the self-defense by the peoples of their interests under capitalism where this defense has stopped short of revolution, -- where it has remained within the limits of capitalist economic and governmental law. While the "democratic resistance" of peoples has helped the socialist revolution elsewhere, the failure to go beyond the limits of this resistance, the failure to join and spread the revolution, has allowed capitalism to survive, to reach its present stage of power and danger to humanity. The "defense of democracy" AS AN OVERRIDING POLITICAL GOAL has in fact been an essential part of the preservation, extension and intensification of imperialist fascism. This is true particularly in the U. S. and its empire.

To defeat and destroy fascism the people must end their submission to capitalist government law and must meet, defeat and destroy the mobilization of the fascist forces as those enter the political field where "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". These forces to be defeated and destroyed include spies, agents provocateur, goons, assassins, vigilantes, fascist paramilitary forces, fascist political police, and armed forces of whatever kind acting under fascist authority against the people.

"DEMOCRACY" AND FASCISM

Defense of the peoples' interests by defense of "democratic rights" under capitalism is necessary but it is far from sufficient to defeat or to destroy fascism. If "defense of democracy" is made an excuse to oppose the equally necessary prepar-

eration for socialist revolution, for the final defeat and elimination of imperialist fascism, then defense of "democratic rights" becomes an objective ally of fascism and an objective enemy of "democratic rights".

"Democracy" under capitalism is the voluntary submission of the people, particularly of the working class, to the social order, to the economic law, to the governmental law and political rule of the capitalist class through its agents "elected by the people." The final expression of this voluntary submission may take the form of continued submission and of continued reliance on the "democratic process" (government elections, etc.) while the capitalist class mobilizes the naked dictatorship of club, gun, gas, torture and death camps. The outcome of such a final expression of "democracy" is clear. History is littered with the corpses of "democracies" which have been relied upon as defenders of the people, their places taken by juntas, presidents, premiers of non-existent parliaments, and the stench of fascism in power.

### THE PEOPLE AND FASCISM

Fascism can exist and can threaten to be installed officially in power in the U.S. today because most people in the U.S. who oppose fascism in principle do not agree that it is necessary for the people to end their submission to capitalist government law ("the laws of the land made by our democratic representatives"). They do not see that this very government law is used to rationalize and to protect the mobilization of fascism and to attack with force and violence the more effective opponents of imperialist fascism.

NEVERTHELESS IT IS ONLY THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE WHO CAN DEFEAT AND DESTROY FASCISM. It is the central aim of the United Front Against Fascism to organize the people on the basis of PEOPLES' POWER AGAINST FASCISM and PEOPLES' WAR AGAINST FASCISM.

### THE PEOPLE AND THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The basic problem of organizing a United Front Against Fascism is how to bring the people, beginning now, into MAXIMUM effective opposition to fascism.

The principles and structure of the united front must encourage ALL people who are now or who later become opposed to fascism to join together for the purpose of meeting, defeating and destroying imperialist fascism.

### THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

Each separate organization or person opposed to fascism -- union, political party, student association, etc., or members of same -- will also be opposed to or in favor of other aspects of contemporary or future society. THESE OTHER PROS AND CONS MUST NOT PREVENT ANY ANTI-FASCIST ORGANIZATION OR PERSON FROM JOINING WITH ALL OTHERS WHO ARE OPPOSED TO FASCISM IN A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.

This means that no anti-fascist organization or person may be barred from the united front because of any other beliefs or activities.

This also means that no anti-fascist organization or person may be criticized, or my demand made on it or him or her, within the united front, to curtail or abandon my beliefs, principle, program, campaign, activity or other organization outside of the united front.

Anti-fascism must be the one & only political basis of affiliation with the United Front Against Fascism.

- If any other political condition of affiliation "X" is adopted by the United Front Against Fascism, then the UFAT will become the "United (Except for those who disagree with "X") Front Against Fascism." If electoralism is made a condition, the non-electoralists will not be included. If anti-electoralism is made a condition, the electoralists will not be included --- etc.

TRY ATTEMPT TO PUT THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM INTO ANY SPECIAL "ORG" WILL, REGULATORS OF FRONT, HAVE THE OBJECTIVE EFFECT STRENGTHENING THE UNITED FRONT AND STRENGTHENING FASCISM.

### THE ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The necessary co-ordination of the united front can be achieved best by the principle of voluntary solidarity which will grow out of facing a common enemy.

Arbitrary discipline can only fail to co-ordinate the people in their anti-fascist struggle, as will any bureaucratic structure attempting to impose such arbitrary discipline.

There must be no attempt to subordinate the local to the regional or the regional to the national organization of the united front.

Voluntary co-ordination based on maximum spreading of information about fascism and about the United Front Against Fascism will be the soundest principle of organization for anti-fascist solidarity of the people.

An organization affiliated with the united front whose particular methods of opposing fascism require highly disciplined co-ordination will not be prevented from applying its methods or enforcing its discipline among its members as such. But it will be out of order for it to attempt to impose its particular method on the United Front Against Fascism either by proposing it for endorsement as the pre-eminent method of fighting fascism or by attempting to pack meetings or to capture positions of influence in the structure of the united front for the purpose of such imposition.

### THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The organizational structure best suited for the political principle of the United Front Against Fascism, best suited for actual political combat against fascism, and which will best ensure the defeat and destruction of imperialist fascism, is

- 1) direct affiliation of local anti-fascist organizations and persons to the united front at local levels;
- 2) direct affiliation of regional anti-fascist organizations, and local united front organizations, to the united front at regional levels;
- 3) direct affiliation of national anti-fascist organizations, and regional united front organizations, to the united front at the national levels;
- 4) international affiliation of the united front may be established according to conditions in each country.

### THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The above outlined and proposed organizational principle and structure of the United Front Against Fascism will minimise the damage which will be done by the inevitable attempts of particular affiliated organizations to limit anti-fascism to their own concepts and practices.

It should again be emphasised that nothing in the United Front Against Fascism may be allowed which will prevent activities of affiliated organizations from being carried on as desired by those organizations. Thus the merit of any organization will be judged by the people, not by the United Front Against Fascism, and the organization will be free to function and to grow or decline accordingly. The United Front Against Fascism will not interfere with the process of natural selection in the political and other fields.

As shown by bitter pages of history, there will be a tendency, and a faction representing this tendency, supported by organizations and persons affiliated with the united front, TO ABANDON ACTIVITIES AND TO DISSOLVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE NAME OF STRENGTHENING THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. The right of any organization or person to do this, on its or his or her own initiative, is undeniable. But the

political and organizational principle and structure of the United Front Against Fascism must not be pressure or inducement to join the peoples' movements by abandoning activities or dissolving organizations. The above outlined and proposed principles and structure, requiring only anti-fascism as the political principle, voluntary solidarity based on information spread widely among the people as the organizational principle, and a functional affiliation of anti-fascist organizations and persons to the united front as the structural principle, leave each affiliate free to make its or his or her own priorities of activities and organizations.

The proposed principles and structure of the united front will make it difficult for any narrow interest to take over the united front for partisan purposes such as electoralism, anti-electoralism, etc., or for the purpose of causing the abandoning of necessary activities by affiliates or disbanding of affiliates.

#### PROPOSED ARTICLES FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.

The Anti-Imperialist Coalition proposes that in order to achieve the above in the formal sense the following Articles be included in the Constitution to be adopted by the United Front Against Fascism:

Article I. The political purpose of the United Front Against Fascism is to meet, defeat and destroy imperialist fascism in the United States and its empire.

Article II. The sole political requirement for affiliation of an organization or person with the United Front Against Fascism shall be actual opposition to fascism. For this purpose "fascism" shall be defined to be THE SYSTEMATIC USE OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE BY A GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED IN FACT BY THE WEALTHY CLASS TO ELIMINATE OPPOSITION TO THE RULE OF THIS CLASS. The UFAF shall decide who is in fact anti-fascist.

Article III. Within the meetings and publications of the United Front Against Fascism no affiliate or its representative shall by discussion, motion or proposal criticize any other affiliated organization or person on any basis other than possible violation of the constitution or by-laws of the United Front Against Fascism by the criticized affiliate.

Article IV. At all levels of structure the organizational principle of the United Front Against Fascism shall be voluntary solidarity of the people and their organizations against fascism, achieved by the widest possible spreading of information about fascism, the peoples' struggle against fascism, and the United Front Against Fascism as part of that struggle.

Article V. Local anti-fascist organizations and persons shall affiliate with the local United Front Against Fascism. Regional organizations, and each local United Front Against Fascism, shall affiliate with a regional United Front Against Fascism. National organizations, and each regional United Front Against Fascism, shall affiliate with the national United Front Against Fascism. International affiliation of the national United Front Against Fascism may be established according to conditions in each country. \* anti-fascist

Article VI. Voting by and representation of affiliated organizations and persons shall be decided by adoption of by-laws by each regional and local United Front Against Fascism. National by-laws, adopted by national conferences or conventions, shall decide voting and representation in the national United Front Against Fascism.

Article VII. Executive functions shall be carried out by temporary and standing committees elected out of the body of each United Front Against Fascism at local, regional and national levels.

## PROGRAM, CAMPAIGNS AND PROJECTS OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The controversial nature of any proposal must not be a basis for denying the right of proposal and debate of the controversial matter. The proposal and debate itself must guide the decisions of the United Front in its adoption of program, campaign or project. After controversial proposal and debate, which will show where the movement stands, adoption of program, campaign or project by the United Front Against Fascism at any level must not be done if it will cause a serious split in the United Front.

For example, the United Front must not endorse any candidate for election or appointment to government office. However, all affiliates or potential affiliates must be free, so far as the United Front is concerned, to endorse or support whatever candidates each may choose.

Points of the structure, program, campaigns, and projects of the United Front will channelize the particular ways the United Front itself will fight against fascism. These ways will be distinct from those used by its affiliates as independent persons or organizations. The affiliates may not wish to endorse or support a particular concept or tactic of the United Front, but may tolerate it because of the intent of its supporters. But no affiliate can be expected to become or remain identified, among its present or potential constituency, with a concept or tactic which is completely contrary to its own basic principles.

In brief, the program points, the campaigns and the projects of the United Front Against Fascism, at the local, regional and national levels, each must in fact be no more and no less than anti-fascist. Otherwise the political requirement for affiliation, the organizational principle and the political principle of the United Front will in fact each be violated and the United Front will remain or will become a united front in name only.

Fraternally submitted by:

ANTI-IMPERIALIST COALITION

Mail address: P.O. Box 637  
Oakland, Ca. 94604

\*(continuation of WHAT IS FASCISM?, page 1)

Like any basic condition, fascism grows out of the preceding basic condition: "democracy" (democratic forms of rule for capitalists). Fascism's stages of growth and its degrees of adoption by the ruling capitalist class for the wielding of their state power give fascism different appearances, particularly in the period when the capitalists still use the "democratic" method of rule side by side with the growing fascist method. To say that "Fascism is here and must be fought" is not to say that it is in full and official power as a method or rule, or that the concentration camps are full, or that all progressives are either eliminated, underground or in exile; it is only to say that fascism, the fascist method of governing by the same ruling class, also using the "democratic" method, has grown enough to make it a political force to contend with.

Editor dictated by union members

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - DOCUMENT  
"REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"  
BY ELDREDGE CLEAVER

**CONFIDENTIAL**

During the afternoon of July 22, 1969, the workshop was addressed by DON COX of the Black Panther Party, who read the article from the June 28, 1969 issue of the Black Panther newspaper which quotes the pamphlet, "Revolution and Education" by ELDREDGE CLEAVER verbatim. BOBBY SEALE and COX instructed the 150 individuals in attendance from this publication. After COX read the article he explained that the "pigs" have no respect for the administration of the colleges or the students, that the students were paying these universities for an education and had the right to be respected. He stated it is our (the Black Panther Party) job to see that this type of action by the "pigs" must stop by any means necessary. COX went on to state that the power structure controls man's life through the institution of education, post offices, hospitals, and other sources which protect the system and use various means in the economic structure to weaken the people. COX stated the system is a capitalistic system and this is why we must be revolutionary to overthrow the capitalistic system and bring about a socialistic system. (u)

BOBBY SEALE commented on the article and stated that "We (the Panthers) are the vanguard of the people and the only organization capable of liberating the people in this country." SEALE said because of the threat to the system by the party, they have been ruled as a subversive organization by "that racist pig, J. EDGAR HOOVER;" that they must educate the students on campus and the people in the community on what is going on and cannot move without the people with us. SEALE also spoke of freeing political prisoners and stated that the Black Panther Party is the vanguard of the people, not black people only, and they have a hard job confronting them. Because of the party being under surveillance by the "pigs", they must use every means necessary and will resolve all legal means, but everybody knows that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. (71)

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached. (71)

ME: BLACK PANTHER COMM-DOCUMENT  
"REVOLUTION IS EVOLUTION"  
BY ELERIDGE S. GAYER

**CONFIDENTIAL**

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL  
ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY AS THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO  
PRAEARRANGE THE LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL  
FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF ATTEMPTS TO  
KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND  
ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

(u)

**CONFIDENTIAL**

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December 1966, in Oakland, California to organize black people so they can take control of the life politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BILLY NUCIFORI, Staff BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer. (u)

The official newspaper, 'The Black Panther,' which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Presidents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed. (u)

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following: (u)

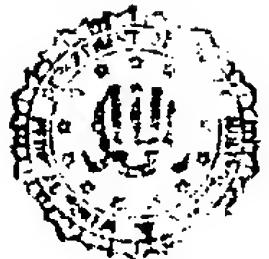
"Black man - Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change - Freedom everywhere - Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun - Kill the pigs everywhere." (u)

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "We will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it." (u)

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." (u)

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

As Repj. 1. 1. 1. Rejct to  
F. C. U.

December 16, 1969

Black Panther Party (BPP) - Document  
"REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION" BY ELDRIDGE  
CLEAVER

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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AGENDA FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

FOR A  
UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

July 18, 19, and 20, 1969  
Oakland, California

**FIRST**  
NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A  
UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA  
(CALLED BY the NATIONAL COMMITTEES TO COMBAT FASCISM)

FORMAT OF U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE

FRIDAY

7:00 pm-11:30 pm 1) Introductory; keynote; Women versus Fascism  
.....Oakland Auditorium

SATURDAY

10:00 am-1:00 pm 2) Workers versus Fascism.....  
.....Oakland Auditorium....

2:00 pm-4:00 pm 3) Students and Education versus Fascism  
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

5:00 pm-7:00 pm Movie "Z".....Merritt College Auditorium  
(59th and Grove)

8:30 pm-11:30 pm 4) Political Prisoners and Political Freedom  
.....Oakland Auditorium

SUNDAY

10:00 am-12:00 pm 5) People's Health and Fascism  
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

12:30 pm-3:00 pm 6) Religion versus Fascism  
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

3:00 pm- 4:00 pm 7) American Servicemen versus Fascism  
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

5:00 pm-7:00 pm Movie "Z".....Merritt College Auditorium

8:00 pm-11:00 pm 8) Community Control (decentralization) of Police  
(mass meeting) ....Oakland Auditorium

11:00 pm-  
9) Final: the National Committees to Combat  
Fascism in America....Oakland Auditorium

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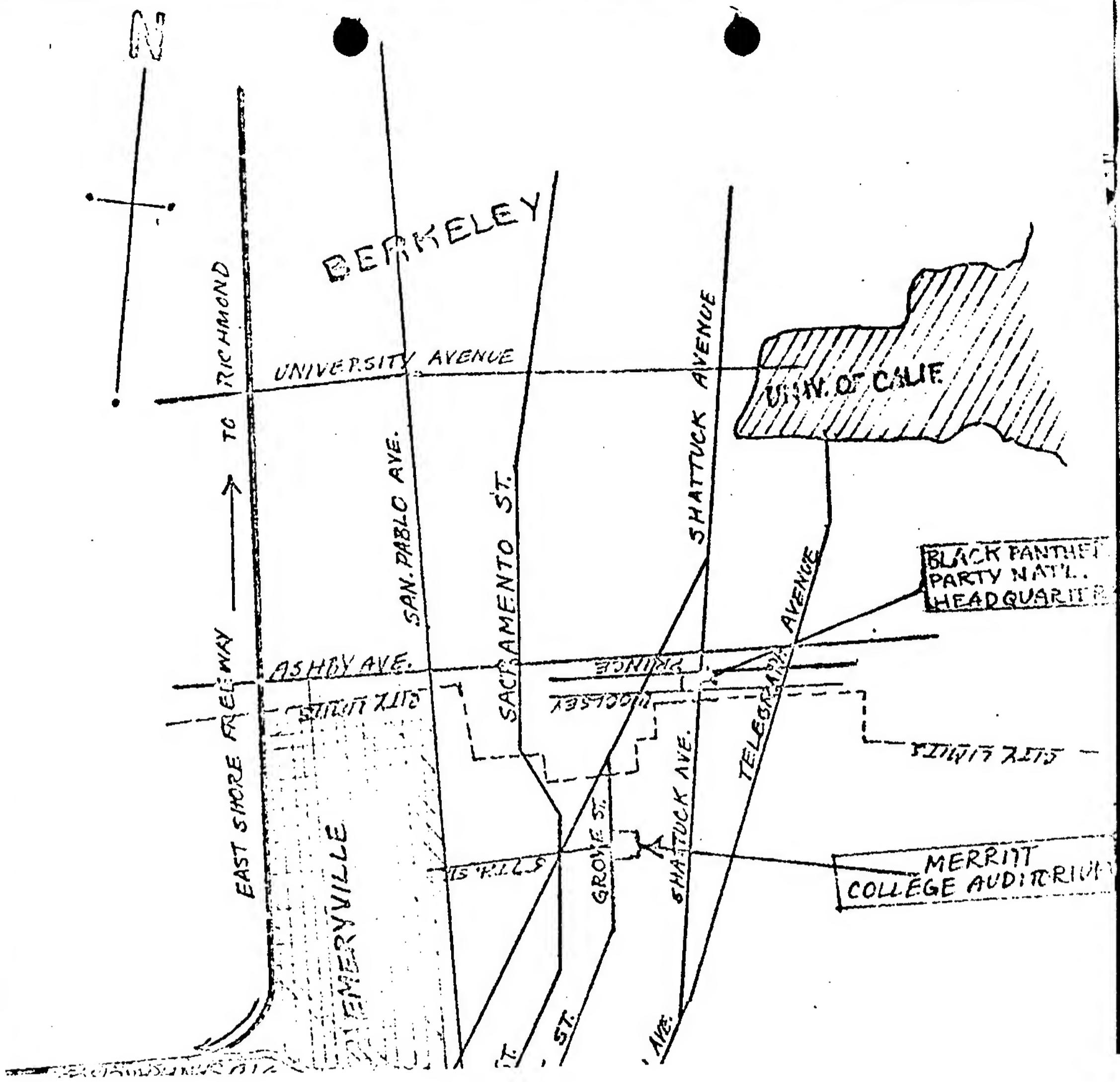
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July 18, 1969

At 7:00 P. M., July 18, 1969, the conference of the United Front Against Fascism was opened at the Oakland Auditorium. BOBBY SEALE was the opening speaker and stated that the purpose of the convention was to "organize a united front to overthrow this fascist government, which is run by such men as the HUNTS, ROCKEFELLERS and the KENNEDYS." He said that this is not a racial conference but a conference of different organizations pooled together to combat fascism. The whole theme of SEALE's speech was to overthrow the United States Government but no mention was made of overthrowing the government by violence. (u)

After SEALE's speech he explained the conference according to the agenda handed out at St. Augustine Church at the time of registration. (u)

After SEALE spoke, he introduced HERBERT APTHECKER. APTHECKER stated that the purpose of the conference is to organize a United Front Against Fascism and to overthrow the United States Govt by whatever means necessary. He stated the "United States Government is at the same state as the German Government was at the time of HITLER's leadership before he exterminated the Jews," that TRICKY DICK (President NIXON) is a puppet to do the same thing in this country by declaring it in a state of emergency to protect the Government; that they have concentration camps already set up to put people in that they felt would overthrow the United States Government. APTHECKER said that the people will

have to be educated against police brutality, taxation, unfair employment, no political rights, et cetera.

At 9:00 P. M., the following seven women made speeches of fifteen minutes each:

- 1. MARIETTE MARIE W. JOHNSON
- 2. DIANE DERION, Sioux Indian
- 3. ROBERTA ALEXANDER, Black Panther Party
- 4. CAROL HENRY, Worker
- 5. CAROL THOMAS, Southern Conference Education Fund
- 6. HILDA IGNATUN, Young Lords
- 7. LORRAINE ALLBRITTEN, State Representative & Chairman Alameda County Welfare Rights Organization

The speech by all of the above women sounded like one record in that all their speeches were based on the overthrow of the United States Government, and the way it should be done was by a National Organization for a United Front Against Fascism.

July 19, 1969

On Saturday morning at 10:00 A. M., a group of workers representing the Unions made speeches regarding labor in which they stated that the country is being run by big business and that the Government is moving to remove the work law, and eliminating Unions having any bargaining with industry. The Government has no price control and percentage wise the rise in consumer prices was over the rise in salaries. They stated that the United Front Against Fascism should organize a government that would deal fairly with labor. They stated that the people would benefit from the profits from industry instead of a few like HUNT, ROCKEFELLER and KENNEDY. They stated that they must encourage other members of labor to join in this fight.

No question and answer session was held as called for in the program.

The following individuals were speakers for the workers:

CLEOPHUS BROWN, Laborer

ARCHIE BROWN, ILWU

NOEL VIGNATIN, UAW

SUSAN KAR, U. C. CLERICAL

ANDY CHAVES, FARM WORKERS UNION

BOB AVAKIAN, REVOLUTIONARY UNION

KENNY HORSTON, UAW BLACK CAUCAS

At 5:00 P. M., this conference was continued to Merritt College Auditorium, 59th and Grove Street, Oakland, California, where a movie "Z" was shown. This movie was based on a group of citizens who had organized to obtain better working conditions, living conditions, political representation, et cetera. The theme of the movie was also about a country spending too much money on war, big salaries, laws against the masses and the lack of freedom.

In this movie some doctor was supposed to speak to this group of people but a group of other citizens organized against this group, supported by the present government to assassinate the doctor.

In the movie the District Attorney began an investigation to find out why this doctor's life was not protected and in his investigation it was learned that the police department and a group of citizens supported by the government were together against the citizens' organization. The members of the police department and individuals against the citizens' organization were responsible for the killing of the doctor. Also, members of the citizens organization were found to be guilty as members of the Communist Party, and were sentenced as such. After this, members of the police department and people working with the police met with strange death, such as automobile accident, heart attacks, drowning and falling out of windows.

At 8:30 P. M., at the Oakland Auditorium the following speakers on Political Prisoners and Political Freedom made speeches:

~~PARENTS OF LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA~~

~~CALIF~~ CHARLES GARRY, Revolutionary Lawyer's Guild

~~CALIF~~ BILL BUNSTLER

~~DOX COX, Black Panther Party CALIF, HUNSTLER~~

~~CALIF~~ ELAINE BROWN, BPP LUMMIK PRIDE, CALIF

~~JIM MERRDON, Revolutionary Lawyer's Guild~~

They stated that they are in the process of organizing a Lawyer's National Defense for the defense of political prisoners. The parents of RAZA SEVEN spoke out about the injustices that were meted out to their sons by the police department in San Francisco, California. They stated that their sons were only out for the community teaching and educating people in the community of their rights when arrested and that they had not violated any law.

BILL KUNSTLER spoke on the injustice that will be dealt out against people who the system (gover. ent) believes would be a threat to the present government; that this is the reason why so many persons are still in prison with high bond. He made reference to a recent Judge Conference held in the State of California, by Governor RONALD REGAN instructing the judges to enact stiffer sentences on these persons who are causing trouble; that if the judges did not follow these instructions they would have a hard time getting elected at the next election. He said he tried to get other lawyers to file a petition against the governor but they were afraid to do so; that this is why we must organize a National defense organization so that we can give the political prisoners the best representation possible.

DON COX (DC), Black Panther Party, New York City, New York, where the New York 21 was accused of bombing warehouses and department stores, stated this was not true because if they had done this they would have killed a whole lot of black people, and that the BPP is the van guard of the people, to help the people, not to hurt them.

ELAIME BROWN, BPP of California, stated her husband was a political prisoner while she was expecting a child and he was not in the area of the crime that he is accused of committing.

The other speakers placed great emphasis on HUEY P. NEWTON as a political prisoner; that a tape from the confession of a witness stated that the witness could not positively identify HUEY as the one who had killed a "cop." The testimony in court by the witness was that he could identify HUEY as the killer of the "cop." They stated from these conflicting statements they were petitioning the court for a new trial and if a new trial is granted HUEY would have to be tried on a third degree murder charge and that would automatically give HUEY a bond, and this is how they plan to get him out of jail.

At 2:00 P. M., a Youth panel of speakers talked about the youths' part to play in the National Organization of the United Front Against Fascism. They stated that the youths should organize on all college campuses to fight fascism; that the committee of youths should go into communities and educate the people through literature, speaking at meetings, and as small

gatherings, so when the move comes, to move against the United States Government, to overthrow it, the people will know what part they should play. They stated that we must have masses with us to win. They put emphasis on how important it is to organize this National Committee against fascism.

The following individuals were speakers at this youth panel:

1. NATHAN HARE, BSU - SF State  
2. JEFF JONES, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society)  
3. RODGER ALVERADO, T.W.L.F.  
4. LIL JOE, B.S.A. Southern California  
5. OSCAR RIOS, Los Siete De La Raza  
6. KEN MARTIN, TAWF

JEFF JONES, Students Organization for a Democratic Society (SDS) made a comment on why the Progressive Political Party was put out of SDS, and was not invited to attend this conference. He stated that the PLP wanted college administration to hire or employ blacks to do the domestic work at universities. This policy differs from that of SDS in that SDS is for fair labor for all people.

On Sunday, July 20, 1969, the following group of ministers, priests and Rabbis and Sisters spoke for more than two hours:

1. Father EARL MCCLURE, St. Augustine  
2. Reverend JESSE JACKSON, SCIC  
3. Rabbi ABRAHAM WEINBERG, Toronto, Canada  
4. Reverend TERRY GATESON, Taylor Memorial United Methodist, Oakland

Calif Father EUGENE BOYLE, Sacred Heart, Oakland Calif

Calif Father JOHN MAXWELL, St. Andrews, Oakland

Calif Rev. DICK YORK, Free Church, Berkeley

Calif Rev. HANNIBAL WILLIAMS, W.A.C.O.

Calif JOHN BOYD, New Seminary Movement

Calif Rev. A. CECIL WILLIAMS, Glide Memorial Methodist

Calif Sister JANET, St. Andrews, Oakland

Calif Father WILLIAM O'DONNELL, Sacred Heart, Oakland

Calif JOHN ECKELS, United Methodist, Oakland

Calif Rev. RUFF SIMPSON, United Methodist, Colorado

The theme of the talks by the above ministers was religion versus fascism; that the present churches are preaching philosophy that is not a reality; that it does not practice what it preaches; that they are tired of hearing so much talk and they want action like Christ took when he was on the cross; that ministers also should be willing to die if necessary so that the people will survive. They stated that the present church is only an institution for the system (government) to rule the people; that there is no freedom of worship, for example men who feel they should not kill would have to go and kill in wars that only this fascist government would receive the benefit. They referred to Moses and stated there would always be persons in the fascist government who would be against such as Moses who was in Pharaoh's house and came out and worked against him, and also committed murder to save people, and if this becomes necessary we the ministers must pick up the gun and kill for the safety of the people. They stated that we should not advocate a religion that teaches milk and honey in the sky, but here on earth for the people; that until ministers are concerned about their congregation, where they work, where they sleep, how they eat,

and be free to participate in society, where they feel they should, they should be against a church which will not give the people these basic means; that the people should not support a church that will not give the people these things.

CIVIL

At 3:00 P. M., DON MACALLES, who stated he was a serviceman, talked about American Servicemen versus Fascism. They stated they had an organization set up inside and outside of the Armed Forces such as one in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, who are working underground in order to change the present policies of the Armed Forces; that many servicemen are being convicted and put in briggs for being a part of this movement. They stated we are working to get them out.

They stated that a lot of the servicemen overseas did not want to fight; that they felt they had no reason to fight, especially in Vietnam, and when these persons return to the United States, they will be recruited into various organizations against the Armed Forces. They stated they are also teaching young people not to go into the military service and advising them of different means to get those already in, out.

One hearing this speech could take a tape recorder, camera or any other electronic device into the speech.

CIVIL

At 8:00 P. M., BOBBY SEALE and PETER FRANK made talks about decentralization of the police by putting emphasis on the police departments, which they called the "pigs", was only hired to protect this fascist government by any means necessary we must move to control this force. They stated that we must educate out people of the importance of having their own community police force; that there will be chief of police but a commissioner that will be controlled by a fifteen-man council, that would be elected by the people through means of a petition signed by registered voters to be presented to the city councilmen of their desires in their communities.

After this speech the registration and recruitment for permanent membership for the United Front Against Fascism was had. They passed out applications to all people attending this speech, and asked them to fill them out and turn them back in; that each person would be sent information on what direction to take in their

community and other names of persons in their state, city or community, that would work with them would be sent to them.

The following literature was handed out or placed on a table to be picked up at this convention:

## The Lumpenproletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement

by Bruce Franklin Call

The first major Black rebellions since 1943 broke out in several large cities in the summer of 1964. That fall, the Free Speech Movement erupted at Berkeley. Since then, it has become increasingly obvious that the Black Liberation Movement has a leading role in revolutionizing large sections of white youth, and recently we have come to see a Revolutionary Youth Movement in the mother country dialectically related to the struggle of the internal Black nation.

Clearly it is of crucial importance that there be for those engaged in both struggles a correct theoretical understanding of the relation between the two. In trying to arrive at this understanding, some people with both the Black and youth movements have started relying on the term "lumpenproletariat."

The reasons for this are clear. A section of white youth has dropped out of its privileged position and consciously assumed a sub-proletariat mode of existence. These "street people" now live a life at least superficially similar to that into which a large section of Black youth has been forced. Black and white young street people own no property, rarely sell their labor (in one case because they cannot, in the other because they will not), hustle and drift; they despise and are despised by bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie, and privileged sectors of the working class alike. Their resemblance to each other has now been driven home by the police, who have begun to use on the white drop-outs the kind of systematic terror and brutality usually reserved for Black and Brown people and the poorest whites.

All this has led some to theorize that the principal class struggle in the United States is not that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but that between the lumpenproletariat and all other classes, who are seen as more or less bourgeoisified. They visualize an anarchic force, made up of the most desperate and alienated sub-groups in society, ripping the vitals out of the Empire and dragging the rotting corpse to some fiery Armageddon. Since this idea has been advanced by some people strategically enough placed in the movement to be able to put it into practice, we must seriously analyze both its theoretical foundations and practical consequences.

To do this, we must answer two very large and difficult questions: What precisely is the lumpenproletariat? What are its possible roles in the American revolution?

### Marxist-Leninist Theory and the Lumpenproletariat

The lumpenproletariat is a class that has received extremely little attention in classical Marxist-Leninist theory, and what little attention it has received is somewhat puzzling.

Marx and Engels were writing at a time when most other writers about the history of revolutionary struggle took a consistently bourgeois viewpoint. To these other writers, revolutions--and for them of course the French revolution was the archetype--were made by a mob, an undifferentiated mass, *la fuu*. Marx and Engels, in singling out the industrial proletariat as the vanguard of socialist revolution, were anxious to distinguish it from that urban mob of the bourgeois writers. This may help account both for the contempt they express for the lumpenproletariat and for their lack of detailed analysis of its conditions of life, its consciousness, and its relations to capitalist production.

FBI

Date: 12/17/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_ (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RM

**KILLINGS OF BLACK PANTHERS  
BY POLICE)**  
EDDIE 18/82/62

BUDED 12/22/69

Re Bulet to SACs Albany and other offices, 12/15/69.

Review of Charlotte files were negative for any instances of members or suspected members of the BBP having been killed by law enforcement officers in N. C.

105-165706-8-118

8 DEC 19 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Charlotte  
THG:jat  
(4)

RECEIVED - 11:15 AM  
DEC 12 5 31 1971

F B I

Date: 12/16/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-20192)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM - BPP

Re New Haven airtel to Bureau dated 12/11/69,  
duo-captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM - BPP," and  
"WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, INFORMATION CONCERNING -  
MISCELLANEOUS, OO: NEW YORK."

Enclosed for Buffalo is one copy of referenced  
airtel.

Enclosed for New Haven is one copy each of  
Charlotte reports of SA [REDACTED] dated  
7/29/69, and 9/30/69, and Charlotte FD-128 dated 11/28/69,  
all captioned [REDACTED]

On 12/15/69, through contact with the Charlotte  
Police Department Hot Desk, inquiry was made of the North  
Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles, Raleigh, North  
Carolina, and 1969 North Carolina license [REDACTED] was  
determined to be registered to [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Durham, North Carolina, for a 1967  
Volkswagen station wagon.

2 - Bureau  
2 - Buffalo (Enc. 1)  
2 - New Haven (Encs. 3)  
2 - Charlotte  
(1 - 157-6171)  
(1 - 100-10657)

THG:dmm

(8)

C-89  
105-165706-8-117

1 DEC 18 1969

RADIO REC'D. SEC. I.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

FBI Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
CE 157-6171 (Priority)

The enclosures contain background data concerning [REDACTED] it being noted that he was last in the Buffalo Division. Therefore, a copy of the referenced airtel is being furnished herewith to Buffalo.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)  
Via AIRTEL REG. MAIL (REGISTRED)  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2361)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
PM - BPP

The following information was furnished by  
(SF T-12), a highly confidential source, on  
12/1/69:

A representative from United Airlines (UAL) contacted [REDACTED] one of the female workers of the National Distribution Office of the "Black Panther" newspaper, saying that the airline had not been able to deliver packages destined for the following persons: R. T. GREEN (11) in Winston-Salem, and OSCAR WASHINGTON in Greensboro. UAL said that these individuals had not called for the packages and the airline had not been able to get in touch with them at the telephone numbers given. The above material is furnished to Charlotte to indicate the problems being encountered in that state by the newspaper distribution office.

1 - Director, FBI  
1 - San Francisco (157-2361) (SF)  
1 - San Francisco  
1 - 157-2361  
1 - 157-1581 (PUBLICATIONS)  
SAC:rac  
(7)

REC 105-165706-8-110

5 DEC 5 1969

51 DEC 15 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

F B I

Date: 12/2/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIETEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8) , D/C  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)  
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by  
(SF T-16), a highly confidential source, on  
11/28/69.

████████████████████ from North Carolina contacted a man  
named █████ asking if he had checked out an unidentified  
brother in Charlotte. █████ said that he had. This matter  
was not further discussed.

████████████████████ then told █████ how everybody worked a 26 hour  
a day at BPP Headquarters at Berkeley and it was "beautiful"  
the way the party members were disciplined around headquarters.  
████████████████████ also said that he had been serving the children at a  
breakfast program and selling newspapers in the field, as well  
as going to classes and studying all night. He asked █████ to  
get some money together and send it on out, inasmuch as they  
needed "materials out there". (It would appear that █████  
wanted the money sent to headquarters so that material could  
be sent back to Charlotte for work in BPP activity.)

████████████████████ also told █████ to instruct █████, not further  
described, to prepare a report, inasmuch as it was wanted for  
printing in the newspaper. █████ then said he planned to be

2 - Bureau (RM)  
3 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
1 - 157-2861  
1 - 157-new  
WAC:mb  
(7)

REC-139

105-165706-8-115

PP DEC 4 1969

EX-110

RACIAL INT. SEC.

Approved: *W. J. O'Gorman*  
Date: DECEMBER 1969  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M P

ST 157-2362

WAC:mlb

back in Charlotte in a couple of weeks.

The above material is being furnished to the Charlotte Division to indicate that [redacted] is active in BPP headquarters learning party procedures.

MEMO FOR DIRECTOR  
ALL BUREAUS

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI 205-165706-3

DATE: 11/11/69

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2661

SUBJECT: **BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE**

Information summarized below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

1 - BOSTON  
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1- (157-2661) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

11-5-69

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED] says that he is calling from Charlotte, N.C. and that there are two people down here from Baltimore who say that they are panthers and were sent here by California and have offered assistance to him. [REDACTED] tells him that they have not sent anyone and those people are agents or pigs.

REC-94

105-165706-8-114

CC-806

11 DEC 1969

Copy to Baltimore  
by routing slip for  
 info  action

date 12-11-69

58 DEC 11 1969  
by cc-806d

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the

RECEIVED  
FBI - SECT.

REG. PLATE

F B I

Date: 12/1/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)  
From: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)  
RL: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
CHARLOTTE DIVISION  
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by  
(SF T-22), a highly confidential source on  
11/26/69.

MEMBER OF SF T-22  
An individual named [REDACTED] last name not  
given, but with telephone number 919-[REDACTED] contacted  
Black Panther Distribution Office in San Francisco on  
11/26/69, and talked to [REDACTED], the [REDACTED] (414).  
[REDACTED] said that he had been having trouble  
with the people in Winston - Salem, who claimed that he  
had not been paying for his papers. [REDACTED] said that  
that was not true and that he had been paying for the  
papers. [REDACTED] wanted a new delivery of 1,000 papers  
sent to him. [REDACTED] mentioned that another man named  
[REDACTED] (phonetic) "might be there". [REDACTED] did  
not further explain this last statement.

The above material is being furnished to the  
Charlotte Division to assist in its investigation of the  
BPP in that territory. EX-305

REC'D

105-165706-8-113

2 - Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8)(RM)  
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)  
2 - San Francisco (157-2861)  
(1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)  
WAC:ajz  
(7) .

DEC 3 1969

58DEC111969

RACIAL JUST. SECT.

Approved: Boyer Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

12/1/69

Director, FBI (105-165706 sub 8)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

0 BLACK PANTHER PARTY - COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM  
RACIAL MATTERS

A review of the November 22, 1969, edition of "The Black Panther," on page eight disclosed an article and picture concerning the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism which has implemented a free Breakfast for Children Program in the area. This article, which was apparently authored by Larry Little, follows the standard Black Panther Party (BPP) line and from all indications this group is an organ of the BPP.

You are referred to Bulet dated August 11, 1969, captioned "Black Panther Party - Committees Against Fascism, Racial Matters."

Instructions set forth in this communication require that the Bureau be immediately notified concerning the formation of a Committee Against Fascism in a form suitable for dissemination and that an intensive investigation be instituted to determine the aims, purposes and activities of the group along with the identities of its leaders and members. Accordingly, you should immediately conduct an appropriate investigation concerning this group, you should initiate a separate investigation concerning [REDACTED] and similar action should be taken concerning other leaders and members as they are identified.

REC-1

105-165706-8-1/2

EX-103  
No pertinent information identifiable with the group at Winston-Salem or Larry Little, in addition to that already known to your division was located as a result of a review of Bureau indices.

GES:fb  
(5)

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 DEC 2 1969

Letter to SAC, Charlotte  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM  
105-165706 sub 8

NOTE:

The Charlotte Division has been conducting a continuing investigation concerning groups within the state which have been seeking to affiliate with the BPP. The information contained in the 11/22/69 edition of "The Black Panther" indicates that an affiliate group is currently operated at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which requires active investigation.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 10/9/69

cc: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE  
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date  
indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party  
(BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley,  
California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant  
organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with  
chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but  
is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this infor-  
mation outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to  
adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2 - BUREAU  
2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)  
1 - SF  
1-(157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

EX-111

REC-1

105-165706-8-111

12 NOV 28 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1509

Q-23-69

[REDACTED] (ph) to [REDACTED] for [REDACTED] who is in the middle of an interview just now. [REDACTED] is calling about a chapter in North Carolina and he is calling from Shaw University, and will call back later.

F B I

Date: 11/3/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

CONFIDENTIAL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7146) (C)

SUBJECT: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA  
RM - BPP  
IS - SDS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 9/17/69,  
enclosing LHM. (u)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 16 copies, and for  
Chicago 7 copies, for WFO 3 copies, for Richmond 1 copy,  
for New York 2 copies, and for San Francisco 2 copies and  
Atlanta 1 copy of LHM in captioned matter. Copies have  
been locally disseminated to Secret Service and military  
intelligence agencies. (u)

Due to the language used by a number of the speakers  
this LHM is being marked obscene. (u)

Classified by 6041 on 5-27-77  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

6 - Bureau (Encs. 21) (RM)

1 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (RM)

7 - Chicago (Encs. 7) (RM)

2 - New York (Encs. 2) (RM)

1 - Richmond (Enc. 1) (RM)

2 - San Francisco (Encs. 2) (RM)

3 - WFO (Encs. 3) (RM)

29 - Charlotte

THG: dmm

(51)

AGENCY: (SEE PAGE 2 FOR COPY BREAKDOWN)

157-165706-8-110

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(C) with no segregable material available for release to you.

Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.

Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.

Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) \_\_\_\_\_, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
105-165706-8-110 page 2

XXXXXX  
XXXXXX  
XXXXXX
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  
 X DELETED PAGE(S) X  
 X NO DUPLICATION FEE X  
 X FOR THIS PAGE X  
 XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

CONFIDENTIAL

Also enclosed for the Bureau are five tapes, not originals, which contain the taped speeches as set forth in the LHM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] maintaining the original tapes in the [REDACTED] and has noted that in the event they are no longer considered of value [REDACTED] he will turn them over to the FBI. (u)

CE T-1 is [REDACTED] Chapel Hill, North Carolina, protected by request, as [REDACTED]

CE T-3 is [REDACTED] (c) information to SA [REDACTED]

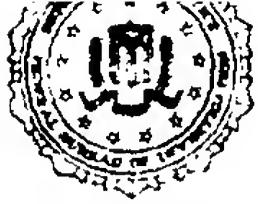
CE T-4 is [REDACTED] North Carolina, protected by request. (u)

SA [REDACTED] conducted all other investigation at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and SA [REDACTED] maintained liaison with Secret Service and military intelligence. (u)

It is noted that 6 copies of the airtel and 16 copies of the LHM are furnished to the Bureau due to the various organizations and personalities involved, as the Bureau may desire to place copies in other organizational or individual files. (u)

In view of the fact Counterorientation Week occurred without incident, this case is being considered closed. (u)

CONFIDENTIAL



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

November 3, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. [redacted]

COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference is made to memorandum made at Charlotte, North Carolina dated September 17, 1969, captioned as above.

On September 17, 1969, CE T-1 reported that Counterorientation Week at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, started at 2:00 p.m. that day with speeches by JAMES S. LEE, Acting Director of Training for the Foundation for Community Development, Durham, North Carolina, speaking on the black nationalist movement; ADOLPH L. REED speaking on "Plight of the Black Man;" and ALEX WILLINGHAM. The speeches were followed by a question-and-answer period and the participants included the speakers, GEORGE VLASITS, former State Organizer for the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), and HOWARD FULLER, with the session ending at 4:15 p.m.

Later the same day, HOWARD FULLER spoke from 7:30 until 9:45 p.m., and observed in the audience was SAM AUSTELL, believed to be an organizer for the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS). An announcement was made that BOBBY LEE of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Illinois and his group had

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

been detained in Richmond, Virginia, but would arrive for the morning of September 18, 1969. No incidents were reported for the day, with the attendance of the afternoon session estimated at 75, and there was no estimate received of the attendance at the evening session.

On September 18, 1969, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that according

[redacted] the first meeting of the day took place at 4:00 p.m. on the University of North Carolina campus. The meeting was attended by approximately 50 people, 2 of whom were Negroes. Speakers included the president of Union Local 77, from Duke University, name unknown. He spoke about getting the union organized on the University of North Carolina campus. Other speakers included CLINT PINE, and one other unidentified individual who spoke regarding workers' rights and problems. The meeting ended at approximately 5:00 p.m. No incidents occurred.

[redacted] advised he recognized MEG ROSE and GEORGE VLASITS at the meeting with a literature table.

The second meeting began at 8:00 p.m. There was a film entitled "American Revolution II" shown from 8:00 until 10:00 p.m. The meeting was attended by approximately 350 people at the onset. Approximately half of those in attendance left before the end of the meeting. The speakers included CRAIG WALDEN, who only introduced the film, and the first full-length speaker was BILL FESPERMAN. FESPERMAN said people must relate to their class and relate to their roots. FESPERMAN advised the group had been in Richmond, Virginia, the previous night, and he said, "We're coming down south to work on local problems."

The second speaker was BOBBY LEE, who said a revolution is coming that should give more power to the people, and "Panthers are going to participate in a real war." LEE read some names of

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

---

individuals in Charlotte and Greensboro, North Carolina, whom he said were impersonating Panthers. LEE left the impression that he would seek some sort of vengeance regarding them. The speakers refused to answer questions at the end of the speeches. The meeting ended at 11:40 p.m., and no incidents occurred.

On September 19, 1969, CE T-2 advised that on September 17, 1969, HOWARD FULLER, JAMES LEE, and BOBBY LEE, Field Secretary for the Illinois BPP, were observed at the Counterorientation Program at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The crowd contained approximately 20 black people and the rest were white. BOBBY LEE spoke about the Black Panther Party and the Black Panther Party Program, indicating that persons posing as Panthers in North Carolina were not affiliated with the national organization. JAMES LEE spoke briefly that the black man should not join the white man, and ADOLPH REED spoke of the cafeteria strike at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, during the spring of 1969.

A collection for the Malcolm X Liberation University was taken at the meeting, and it appeared that over \$100 was received, but no specific amount was reported.

On the night of September 17, 1969, HOWARD FULLER spoke in the Great Hall of the University of North Carolina, to a standing-room-only crowd, which included only about ten Negro students. FULLER arrived at the meeting accompanied by CATHERINE HARGROVE. The text of FULLER's speech was how a few business organizations which he identified to include the tobacco companies, power companies, and banks controlled all activity in Durham, North Carolina, resulting in oppression to the Negro people and their economy. FULLER said the Negroes did not need white assistance for anything. He said that the Negroes were no longer going to be good Negroes, and then he refused to tell the whites what the Negroes intended to do.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Before FULLER's main speech, CHUCK HOPKINS talked briefly about the arrest of JAMES LEE at Sanford, North Carolina, setting it as another example of Negro oppression. He blamed the racial situation in Sanford, North Carolina, on the continuing agitation of the Negro population by the white people, and indicated that LEE was merely a catalyst to make the Negro people rebel against this oppression. HOPKINS denied that LEE had taken any action to in fact constitute or incite to riot.

One of the Negro people at this meeting was identified by FULLER as the leader of the Black Student Movement at the University of North Carolina. He was not, however, identified by name. This individual was an Albino Negro, possibly student WILLIAM DAVIS WILSON who has very light skin and has blond hair.

On September 23, 1969, CE T-3 advised that on September 21, 1969, at 8:00 p.m., there was a panel discussion on Marxism held in Room 207 of the Carolina Union. Among those participating was ED LAVALLE, Duke instructor; GEORGE VLASITS; ADOLPH REED; and NICK ATKINS, a Duke instructor. There were about 75 persons attending, and in general the speeches concerned the merits of Marxism as a method for liberating the American people, especially the working classes. The speakers took turns talking and there was a lot of talk about the need to reform American society. NICK ATKINS announced at the beginning of his speech, "I am a Marxist," and ADOLPH REED said that "Marxism is the best way for black people to bring about the changes they want." GEORGE VLASITS discussed the role of students, whether they should work through the community or on campus to bring about the "reordering" of society. ED LAVALLE also said that "Though we must get the working classes behind us in order to reform American society, there will still be bloodshed because the capitalists aren't going to give up their profits without a fight."

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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On September 23, 1969, CE T-3 reported that on September 22, 1969, at 7:30 p.m., in Room 111, Murphy Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, there was a discussion on imperialism and American foreign policy. Among those attending were FRED BODE, University of North Carolina history professor; LARRY KESSLER, also a University of North Carolina history professor; and GEORGE VLASITS and CARL DAVIDSON, a former officer of the Students For a Democratic Society.

VLASITS began the meeting at 7:30 p.m. by showing two films. The first film was on the United States exploitation of Venezuela and the revolutionary movement there. The second film was on present-day Cuba, how the country is prospering, how happy and well fed the people are now that the United States has been removed. These films lasted about an hour.

Then VLASITS introduced the speakers. FRED BODE spoke about the history of United States imperialism, condemning THEODORE ROOSEVELT and WOODROW WILSON and contrasted United States imperialism with nineteenth century British imperialism. LARRY KESSLER then took over. He said, "The countries that the U. S. call underprivileged are not underprivileged at all but they are super-exploited by the U. S., countries like Vietnam, Venezuela, etc." He blamed the United States for starting World War II with Japan. He said that we (the United States) have isolated Red China, not China herself.

CARL DAVIDSON spoke briefly about his trip to Cuba. He said that AID was exploiting South American countries by paying for the construction of houses for the poor but then allowing American building contractors to charge the poor people more than three times the cost of the building.

On September 29, 1969, CE T-4 made available tape recordings made of the following meetings:

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK  
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA  
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

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Wednesday, September 17, 1969

"The Black Liberation Struggle"  
2:00 p.m., Room 111, Murphy Hall

"Black Liberation in North Carolina"  
8:15 p.m. - Great Hall, University of  
North Carolina Student Union

Thursday, September 18, 1969

"Community and Factory Organization"  
4:00 p.m. - Room 207, Carolina Union

"American Revolution II"  
7:30 p.m., - Great Hall

Monday, September 22, 1969

"Vietnam Will Win"  
4:00 p.m. - Room 207, Carolina Union

"Imperialism--A Look at American Foreign Policy"  
7:30 p.m. - Room 111, Murphy Hall

CE T-4 noted that [REDACTED] the meeting  
on Marxism on September 21, 1969.

(The following introductory comments were made by ADOLPH REED.)

This is the first thing on the program for orientation of the Black Liberation Struggle. (voice from audience, unintelligible.) Ha, no I don't know how to fool with these things. So I just yell. This is the first panel on the Black Liberation Struggle and the speakers are, the first speaker is going to be JIMMY LEE from the Foundation for Community Development who's going to talk, who's going to try to give an analysis of change in the movement, in the black movement. Transitive change in the last 15 or 20 years. And then I'll try to talk a little bit about the cultural importance of, of . . . okay. Then I'll try to talk a little bit about the cultural importance of Black Nationalism as a tool for the liberation of black people. And finally, ALEX WILLINGHAM, a graduate student of political science here, will summarize the things that we've said and then add some more.

Before we get started with the speakers, as you can probably guess, the films aren't here right now, the two films that were scheduled. However, we hope to have the Black Panther film sometime today, right GEORGE? And BOBBY LEE also, the field secretary for the Illinois Panthers, isn't here yet. He was detained in Richmond. But he should be in sometime today, and he definitely will be here for the program tomorrow night. So, here's JIMMY LEE.

(The following speech was made by JIMMY LEE.)

I see we managed to get some reporters here, and no telling who else we got in here. For the benefit of the reporters who are willing to make the equation, no, I am not a Black Panther, and for the benefit of other people who might be suspicious, no I'm not working for the CIA.

What I want to do just for a couple of minutes, and maybe we can lead into some questions, is kind of remind you of things

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

that you probably already know and sort of maybe lead into some reasons why these things that you already know have happened. You know, it's become obvious in the past few months to some, and in the past few days to others, and in the past few years to still others, that black people have changed their view of what the liberation struggle is, and that black people have changed the emphasis of the liberation struggle. And so what I want to do is kind of look at where things started out and the erroneous analysis that led to things starting out at that particular point and see what sorts of things have happened to make the changes that have taken place.

The initial thrust, if you want to begin 20, 15 years ago, the initial thrust of the black movement was toward integration. Integration without much concern about what was integrated or why it was integrated. Just the initial thrust was integration. And this thrust came about as a result of black people looking at the condition of black people and saying something's wrong. We don't know exactly what it is, but something's wrong and let's look around and see what's wrong. We know we are poor, we know we are uneducated, we know we can't get jobs, we know we can't buy hot dogs at Kress. We know this and we know that, but why is it?

And the answer that came out at that time was the answer that said the reason that this is true is because we're separate. We're separate. What we need to be doing is trying to integrate and become part of the system and once this happens everything is going to be all right.

And so all sorts of things were tried. People got locked up. People sat down, swam in, knelt in, did all kinds of things to try to get into the system. And the upshot of all that was that the people got into the system to a certain extent. You can go and buy a hot dog at Kress now, and even sit down at the lunch counter. You don't have to go in the back door. You can try on clothes at downtown stores. You don't sit upstairs at the movies any more. You even managed to get some civil rights laws passed and sued a couple of white folks because they didn't obey those laws.

But pretty soon, black people began to look around again. They said, okay, we got this, we got this integration to a limited degree. Our kids got freedom of choice and they can go to school wherever they want to, but something is still wrong. And a couple of kids in Alabama came up with a phrase to describe what was wrong and what was needed. STOKELY CARMICHAEL and WILLIE RICH screamed "black power" one day. And what they meant at that time was that we're involving ourselves in the system, but we still don't have any influence over it. Because all parts of the system that we need to be influencing are controlled by white folks.

So we need some black power. We need to organize black people to the point where black people can go to the system with some sort of power base, present demands, and influence the decisions that the system is making. Influence white people to make the kinds of decisions that are going to be appropriate for black people. And so the drive was made for black power. And there was a time when black power, when black power even as it was defined by white folks, was totally unacceptable. And that hadn't been too long ago. I imagine for some folks, I hope nobody in here, that the concept of black power was really unacceptable, and when you said I'm a black power advocate, you know, folks started to shrink away from you. It was some real hip white folks and some crazy black folks who could get away with saying I'm a black power advocate, and everybody would say Yeah, okay, yeah, right on, you need black power.

But pretty soon it became acceptable that black power is, in fact, what black people need to be fighting for. But this was black power as defined by white folks. This was the black power that said what black people need to be doing is trying to get in and influence the decisions that are made concerning their lives. Well a lot of tactics were used for that. The base of the whole thing was community organization or labor organization, and the tactics that were used to influence decisions ranged any place from petitions to burning buildings down.

But pretty soon it became apparent to black people that this was not the answer. That black power as we just defined it wasn't going to work and that influencing the decisions wasn't really the important thing. What's important, what's important is not influencing the decision but making the decision. And it's toward making the decisions in black communities that the black movement is now moving.

We hear talk of the movement now being described as a liberation struggle. And for people talking about making decisions it seems kind of weird to go into a thing of liberation. And I think what's happening now is that black people are recognizing that the nature of the problem merits black people defining the black community in terms of the black community being a colony. A colony within the white mother country which must be liberated if black people are to successfully make the decisions that have to be made. Black people are recognizing that the real problems, the real problems that are facing black people are poverty and racism, and that within the context of a racist white America the chances of black people making, making their own decisions and governing their own destinies are pretty slim.

It's also recognized that within the context of an economic system that places more emphasis on profit and property than it does on human life, then the chances of survival of poor black people or decreasing the number of poor black people in proportion to affluent people period, is very slim. And so the whole emphasis of the movement is being shifted toward liberation of an oppressed colony and toward changing economic and cultural systems to make them directly relevant to the needs of black people.

This, I hope, will serve as kind of a guide for later discussion.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

(The following speech was made by ADOLPH REED.)

Well now, Brother LEE has just defined the problem of black people in colonial terms, which I think makes the concept of black nationalism more important, because as a colonized group black people do represent a distinct nation within a nation in the United States, and as a matter of fact, in the whole of Western society, but particularly here in the United States.

And also I'd like to say this is not a new way of looking at this problem. I think black nationalism has been in existence or positive feelings toward black nationalism have been present within the black community since the first slave ships got here. BENJAMIN BANACA (phonetic), for example, argued for some sort of generalized black nationalism when he conferred with THOMAS JEFFERSON. And, God I hate to say that man's name, and MARTIN DELANEY was one of the foremost black nationalists this country has ever seen. MALCOLM X, scores of others.

And well, in terms of the liberation of black people, black nationalism creating a sense of national unity for our black people in the United States, is of utmost importance. Because we can't begin to discuss liberating ourselves unless we are rooted firmly in our own ethnic, cultural, national circumstances, which is half American at best. Probably not American at all.

And the civil rights movement failed because, as JIMMY pointed out, there was not this consciousness of the black nation and of how to deal with the black nation.

They are civil rights leaders to the extent that they let anybody. We're concerned primarily with being integrated into a burning house, into a, into the prevailing economic, social, and political system in the United States during the late 50's and the early 1960's, because they somehow thought that we didn't have to conceive of ourselves as a distinct nation of people and a distinct cultural group to get ourselves over in the struggle. They didn't conceive of it as a liberation struggle; it was an integration struggle.

And right now I know there are many movements or many people in the white left who are pretty much opposed to black nationalism because they view it as counter-revolutionary or whatever the hell else they view it as, and frankly, that just doesn't have anything to do with the real world. See, black nationalism has to be just as legitimate as Vietnam nationalism, and as Cuban nationalism, as Chinese nationalism and as Russian nationalism. Because this is the tool that black people have to, to liberate themselves.

You know, superficial things, such as the tendency among many black people to view white institutions as being somehow ipso facto better than black institutions. This is the kind of thing that black nationalism fights off. The only way that there can be any equality between black people and white people in this country is through our rooting ourselves in our own cultural traditions, in our own cultural values, in our own language, music, and Beltan Shan (phonetic), if I can use Max Favor's terminology. We've got to stick with our unique way of perceiving the world if we are to be liberated.

(The following speech was made by ALEX WILLINGHAM.)

I just want to make some quick remarks here regarding what seems to me to be some of the fundamental, underlying changes that have been going on that show the kinds of things that JIM and ADOLPH have been talking about. But let me just start off by clearing myself too, regarding the most aggressive, repressive forces in this country. And I'll do that by simply relating to you my own change of view regarding my own position on the list of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I was very proud when they came and checked me out back in January, because I knew then that whatever else that meant, it meant that I was going to be on their list, and as always, I'm very proud to be with my people.

As luck would have it, however, I was in my Fascist hometown the last couple of days ago, and this friend of mine, a Negro fellow who is now working on the police force down there,

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

is being investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for police brutality, which means that he is on the list also. And I've now been thinking about trying to get myself off of there and clear my name.

Let me just try to . . . it seems to me that what has happened basically here, and trying to get, of course, the more basic and fundamental kinds of notions, is that the whole movement on the part of black people has gone from a sort of one-dimensional, uni-dimensional sort of thing to a more multi-dimensional and a more dynamic approach.

I remember, for example, when I was in undergraduate school, people did not raise questions about such things as integration. You didn't raise them with black people. You didn't raise them with white liberals. You just didn't raise these kinds of questions. The whole ideology of integrationism was assumed to have answered all of the kinds of questions of a political, theoretical nature that black people should be interested in. I think that what happened when STOKELY and them first raised the question in a popular context of black power nationalism, is that we saw then that there were various other kinds of questions that we did have to deal with. And the whole culture of black people, the whole potency of black institutions and what have you, and various other kinds of questions that MALCOLM particularly raised and, of course, they are now quite common and that we have been talking about up here already, are the kinds of things that came up front-stage center.

But let me just try to indicate some of the kinds of differences that were involved here. For example, there was this hang-up, and this thing reached its epitome in one of the great liberal documents we've had from the civil rights movement. We've had two great liberal documents. One of these was the Moneyham (phonetic) report on the black family. Well, that gentleman played the dozen with us, and I don't play the dozen with white folks, so I'll just let him go. The other great one was that report of the Kerner-Lindsey Commission as they say. And the whole principle reached its epitome, I think, in the Kerner-Lindsey report where, when we look at the thing in the terms of

its so-called finding, we kind of conclude here that the great principle in this country has, in fact, been racism. It is suggested to us that we should deal with some attitude of sex on the part of white people which is somehow or another related to our own kind of principle. And, of course, that was a crucial integrationist notion. The principle was that white folks just didn't understand and they had this hang-up. They thought we descended from the monkeys and I kind of hope that we were. And that sort of thing, and we should, therefore, work to change our kinds of institutions, to improve their own attitudes, to civilize white folks as STOKLEY CARMICHAEL put it three or four years ago.

There was, therefore, this interest in white attitudes which you see directed our attention away from the attitudes of black people, the opinions of black people, and what have you. What really mattered was white folk.

This meant, of course, on the other hand, a sort of de-emphasis on black attitudes as I've just said and a generalized de-emphasis, as ADOLPH was saying, on black institutions period and what they could do. Black institutions, black organizations were assumed to be way stations. These way stations were temporarily there until white America was sufficiently civilized, in which case they would fade away as the case may be, wither away to make this thing look more proper here, wither away. And we would all then get into the great American mainstream. Well, of course, we now know, all of us admit, there is no American mainstream. HOWARD CRUSE (phonetic) listed a crucial point. He said okay, let's assume I'm going to integrate. Name the group that I'm going to integrate with. Would it be the wops, would it be the Catholics, would it be the Jews, the American Indians? Which is the American group with whom I'm supposed to integrate? Specify that, corporation executives or eastern professors?

Okay, so we came to see then that this wasn't in many ways a sort of multi-racial system, multi-ethnic society, as they say. And the problem was not that it wasn't multi-racial, but the fact that rather limited groups of people were running the whole show for everybody else, including black people. The point then is to identify those people who took back all these power positions and to remove their feet from our backs, as the case may be.

Okay, a second kind of thing had to do, and this, of course, is directly related to the whole integration ideology and which is definitely undergoing changes now, is the fact that we simply did not have a critical perspective on the American system. We had no way of really coming, finding how we could criticize the system. The best thing we could see is that that man, that white man, is a racist. And there are some Negro people who are not qualified, but when it came down to grappling with basic problems about the way that the structure, the political and social structure, in this country operates, we simply did not have the kind of critical positions that are absolutely necessary for groups who pretend to be standing for basic and fundamental change, or what we now call liberation.

We had no critical perspective, and that had a lot of implications. HOWARD CRUSE (Phonetic) has pointed out a lot of them, I think, quite cogently. For one thing it leads to a sort of simple conformism by which black people or whatever other group is involved, we know this has happened historically with black people, make an effort to in very minute detail conform to what it is that is expected of them from, or by, chief group itself, as they say the dominant group. NATHAN HAIR (phonetic) tells a little thing about a cocktail party he was at one time in Washington, D. C. And this cocktail party was populated by civil rights Negroes. And what had happened is that they had forgotten that there were no white folks there, but they were pretending that white folks were there anyway, so they had Beethoven on the box and champagne in their hands, being careful to hold out the smaller finger. So NATHAN HAIR, who you probably know NATHAN HAIR, from what I can understand, he has his difficulties thank goodness. So what he did was to go over to the box and slip RAY CHARLES on there somewhere down the line.

And after two or three records fell, everybody was standing there in those long tails with that little finger, sipping that champagne, thinking about their Thunderbird, I just might point out. And RAY CHARLES fell. And it was back in those days when RAY had that tune I called "What I Say." And

you probably remember how that record started off, don-don-de-do, et cetera. And they lost their whole cool and went into their thing. Without ever recognizing what had happened here.

And you know what you had here were all different people repressing their own sort of thing all unable to raise, and in this context musically of course, but that's you know, an example. But I'm able to raise on the basis of that sort of bland conformism, any kind of crucial or critical points about the kind of society in which they live.

Now I just might point out as far as I'm concerned the extent to which white liberals and white radicals support any kind of crap like this is the extent to which they are contemptuous of what I consider to be quite important in critical thinking and they are ultimately contemptuous for black people as a thinking group of people.

Okay, just let me make another point and it has to do I think with the limited commitment that black people, Afro-American people, have to other oppressed people. And I said that a few minutes ago and JIM quite correctly corrected me. He said during those days we didn't have no commitment to other oppressed people anywhere. And I think it is a warranting point and the kind of thing we have to consider. STOKLEY CARMICHAEL summed the thing up some time ago and it's a quite popular slogan now like many others, but by the holy notion that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. And, but the feeling that somehow or another we represented a sort of America first, and that you know, we 'had a certain culture, culture, gemini, that made you superior to American Indians or Vietnamese people and what have you. It's really a bunch of crap.

I would argue, for example, that the problems that are faced by the black underclass in this country, by the street people in Hanoi, or the National Liberation Front, and by many, many, way too many poor people throughout this entire world, emanates, as SEAWRIGHT MEARS (phonetic) once pointed out, from the same places that ours do; namely, Wall Street, and 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.